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21, ḳ!o'ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement downstream. There are otter (ḳ!olt) holes in the right bank, hence the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks.

22, at'awike, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses on the right bank; a few on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are caught with the trolling net.

23, ya'ak (ya'ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa'k'wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

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25, wītă'mŭmpsi, bear's place (wītă'm, black bear). This is a high bluff on the right bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town.

26, goyɛmske'ɛgis, crawfish crawl out, or kizke'trŭs, small lizard, a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink, and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses, for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side.

[343]

27, wɛla'lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wɛla'l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few á'uckni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

[133]

28, lok'o'gŭt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses on the higher land near Agency lake.

29, teŏ'klalŭmps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya'mxi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and koḳenă'okɛ, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

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103 131 361 II. *Agency lake group* (*ḳowa'cdikni*).—The winter home of these people is on Agency lake, the northern arm of Klamath lake. My questioning did not make it wholly certain that this group is independent of ă'ukckni. In fact they join them at k'ɛtai'di (19) on Williamson river for the spring fishing.

[756] [226] 44, kowa'cdi is close to the mouth of Wood river. The site is a quarter-mile long. One informant stated that it contained twenty houses, another two earth-lodges (one a shaman's), not incompatible statements. A spring here permits fish to remain all winter. A few houses are at another spring a quarter-mile east.

[133] III. *Lower Williamson river group* (*du'kwakni*).—These settlements are close to the mouth of Williamson river. This region, du'kwa, is one of marsh, separated by a considerable section of open and higher plain (pɛnŏ'ɣa) from the nearest ă'ukckni settlements. Pɛnŏ'ɣa seems not to have been occupied in pre-reservation days, although du'kwakni and ă'ukckni now live there. Du'kwa people seem also to live across the lake at Pelican bay, the home of the gu'mbŏtkni. But whether this is a regular thing, or only a matter of my du'kwa informant's [222] personal history, I am not sure. At any rate they go to dig roots in the marshes of the western and northern sides of Klamath lake in summer, not to Klamath marsh. Their winter settlements are on the isolated bits of higher ground within a mile of the river mouth, and on the marsh front immediately south. Most of these settlements, too, are on the right bank of the river.

30, mo'aḳsda, five or seven earth-lodges on the left bank nearly a mile above the mouth. Five more houses stood on the opposite bank with numerous springs behind them and the du'kwakni cremation pile a half-mile above.

31, wĭckămdi, four or five houses on the right bank below this, one or two a little below, then a cluster of four and another of two farther downstream.

32, la'wa'latŏt, three houses on the point forming the right side of the river mouth.

33, mo'gi,kūnks, the largest settlement in this district with five or six earth-lodges and as usual a number of small structures. This is on the left bank a quarter-mile above the mouth. One or two houses are on this side immediately at the river mouth.

34, djĭ,gūs, four or five houses at a spring on the lake front to the east of the mouth, with one or two more farther in the marsh.

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IV. *Pelican bay group* (*gu'mbŏtkni*).—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mbŏt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow melts on the mountains. People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow to live during the winter.

35, sle'tskni, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudŏ'kăn is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwūnau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

38, dūnŏ'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level,

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[756]

lglä'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across.

39, e'o'kai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.

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40, wa'lŏ'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.

41, Wak'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'lŏks or gaila'lks is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbŏtkni roasted camas in the spring.

[136]

43, stŏ'kmate, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'kak, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'ukwa'lkai on the east

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After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at each new scalp dance. Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. Both practices are un-Californian.

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There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly lacked, nor rattles are used. Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with another stick.[54]

## CHIEFTAINSHIP

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Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. In contrast my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. As an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least until just before reservation days. At that time contact with the Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that Lele'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. It must be distinctly understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is non-aboriginal.[55] In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy

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[54] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[55] Gatschet, 1:58–62.

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622 Phillips and Tom Lang, doubted that there had been anyone who could properly be called chief in pre-reservation days.

756 As good a test of this as might be was the difficulty I had in getting the names of pre-reservation chiefs, let alone their functions. Shamans on the other hand were freely named and the many cited came far from exhausting the list. Gatschet encountered the same difficulty. 114 "Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs 622 of the two chieftaincies [Klamath and Modoc]. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable." This he explains was due to their strong repugnance to name the dead,[46] but I found hardly a trace of a name taboo.

622 This situation seems much like that of the Great Basin tribes and the particular functions of chieftainship reenforce the view.

Some settlements have chiefs, others do not. It is very doubtful that they feel that political solidarity demands a chief for each subdivision. The three chiefs alone named with some certainty were all ā'ukekni men (Klamath marsh-Williamson river division): Tel'lokĭn who lived at the site of the present town Chiloquin, Lɛle'ks at bezūkse'was across the river, and Moteūnkā'skɛt at Yainax. Others of this subdivision were Lĭ'lu at ka'umkăn on Sprague river and Dŏ'tklɛm sa'rdjĕnt (literally middle sergeant) at about the same place. In other tribelets were my informant's grandfather at mo'giŋkūnks, and Kŏ'ŋdĭŋks, both du'kwakni; a chief and another unnamed war leader at gu'mbŏt. It is quite in accord with this that none were named for iu"laloŋkni, southern lake people. One informant suggested Link River Jack (nĕlo'lŏtk) for this group, but Tom Lang, himself one of them, was certain that this man was a post-reservation leader and doubted that his people had ever had a chief. All these chiefs were contemporaries of the period 1850 to 1870. Their predecessors, if they had any, are unknown. It proved quite fruitless to enquire for which groups or districts these men were chiefs. Tel'lokĭn was chief for the towns about the mouth of Sprague river (lobŏ'kstsŏksi, taka'lmakeda, etc.); Lɛle'ks for the whole middle Williamson valley, which includes these towns, and for Klamath marsh as well. In other words, each was a chief so far as people of his subdivision chose to follow his leadership.

Such is the separatism among the subdivisions that there can hardly be a tribal chief. How far any of the above functioned as such

[46] *Op. cit.*, I:xli.

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539 he was nowhere to be seen. They thought he must have died. After a long time he began to talk, throwing water on the rocks. When he was quite ready he came out and walked to his own people. He had beated the shamans.

One informant completed the humorous tale of the lizard who killed five grizzlies with the comment, "He was braver than Tel'lokis."

622 Chiefs are wealthy. All informants gave the same term, lō'ki, for
556 rich man and chief, and when asked for the rich men named the chiefs.
595 They own many slaves; other people may have slaves, but many have none. Some chiefs have a number of wives. LɛLe'ks had seven at one
[567] time, not slaves, but one a Modoc, the others native. This, the largest
[439] marrige group known, argues considerable wealth. LɛLe'ks was accustomed to make frequent trips to northern tribes with captives to exchange for horses. Everything points to the rise in wealth of these men as dating only from the comparatively recent period of contact with the northern tribes. Up to that time at least shamans rivaled
[756] chiefs in wealth.

622 A chief becomes such primarily by his leadership in war. When a group is gathered preparatory to war, chiefs address them and under their guidance war leaders, prominent, brave, and wealthy, are agreed on. Chiefs themselves are among the war leaders and no one alone captains the party. Chiefs make a point of engaging prominent adversaries in the forefront of battle. In addition to their other qualities, it is assumed that they are brave, unexcitable, and able to do without sleep.

Under the circumstances there can hardly be inheritance of chieftainship, largely because it is not an office to be regulated by definite succession. A chief's relative may be chosen as war leader, but not of necessity. Since wealth figures, it may be that at least the possibility of succession is heritable, but a man who is personally disqualified will not be considered. Pat Kane's paternal grandfather was a chief at du'kwa; further vision experiences had made him a good gambler but no shaman. But his son did not succeed because he was not competent and, in addition poor, nor has Pat any pretensions. On the death of LɛLe'ks, his son Solomon was passed over as lacking caliber, and in reservation days Alan David, previously a minor figure, was recognized in his place. Their relationship is unknown. My informants did not know whether the fathers of any of the chiefs named above had been chiefs before them.

[565] The Klamath have no feeling of class stratification as on the Columbia river and northward. A chief is a leader and nothing more.

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His wife and children are commoners and not known by distinctive terms. 622

The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down. I am somewhat dubious that this procedure is as standardized as my informant had it. The address runs on fighting and acquiring spirit aid. He warns against hostile raiders; tells them to rise before daybreak; tells the young people to seek visions. "If you get a spirit, you cannot be killed; you will never fall sick; you will live to be old." But he has no word as to where they shall hunt or fish or carry on other routine activities. [701]

A chief has no speaker as a shaman has. Such might have been expected here, for Paviotso, Wishram, and Nez Percé chiefs have. [756] [71]

A chief is not looked to to preserve peace. Old men may interfere in quarrels, but these are no especial concern of a chief. Nevertheless the word of an influential chief might end a feud. Just prior to reservation days the practice was introduced of tieing up and lashing quarrelsome men at the word of a chief. This was brought from the north by the cousin of my informant Nancy. It has a decided un-aboriginal flavor. A chief is under no obligation to help his people pay blood money, nor to assist them when starving. These are matters for relatives alone; they may die for all he is concerned. [177]

## SLAVES, TRADE, AND WEALTH

Slaves are captives of war, some of whom are kept by the Klamath but the majority are carried to the Dalles to be sold. They seem to have been numerous. Gatschet quotes a statement of Taylor in 1859 that in the raid on the Pit river people two years previously fifty-six of their women and children had been taken and sold on the Columbia river.[88] Doubt has been cast both on the number of slaves and the frequency of the raids as described by early writers. Kroeber, for instance, scouts the idea of yearly raids on the Achomawi and suggests that a few actual cases have been exaggerated.[89] Whatever the case be with regard to annual raids, I am certain that the evidences are too many and too circumstantial to permit of doubt that raids were 567

[88] 1:lx.

[89] Handbook, 319.

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ā'ukckni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above bzzūkse'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glā'tepak'is, a mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted ā'ukckni; while living at k'taidi she married an ā'ukckni of Yainax. 582 595

A gu'mbōt man, Woḳau'k!alis, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent, presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike arrange such betrothals. 584

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him otherwise. [582] [756]

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary, the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples. Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary. Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home. If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event her parents had to return the gifts of the groom. 583 587 [762]

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earth-lodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives. Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment was then made is not remembered. 583 159

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care. This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be permitted to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl. 583 834

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In the matter of adultery it is quite clear that a man has no recourse but to kill the lover; demanding payment for the wrong is unthinkable. He waits his opportunity to ambush the other. A man of no consequence may have to put up with the situation, but at least he would never think of turning to a chief for help.[74] The husband may send his guilty wife away, may beat or even kill her. Sometimes he will send someone to demand the return of the bride price, and her people return what still remains. The woman is then free to marry her lover who must pay for her in regular fashion. Nothing goes to the former husband. If a woman finds her husband unfaithful, she may beat (satŏ'mdoka) the other woman; her final recourse is to return home.

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TRANSVESTITES

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Transvestites or berdaches (tw!innă'ĕk) are found among the Klamath as in all probability among all other North American tribes. These are men and women who for reasons that remain obscure take on the dress and habits of the opposite sex. Their number is small. Five men who lived as women were cited by an informant, two women who lived as men, and others are known. One of the former was from the Dalles. This is a very minor fraction in a population numbering upward of two thousand. Kroeber has assumed that such individuals are invariably psychologically abnormal, homosexual;[75] I am not sure. The case of Lele'ks below rather argues against it. At any rate their abnormality is socially canalized: they are permitted to live as they desire despite the distaste of the normal Klamath for the practice, and the scorn and taunting to which he subjects them.

[114]

It is to the point to note that the men who turned women adopted woman's dress, pursuits, personal habits, and speech, and in one case at least married. Neither of the two women affected male garb; one married and made some pretense of men's habits, the other is rather simply a case of an irregular sex life. The cases of two of the transformed men which follow seem to turn on adolescent experiences. While these are phrased with relation to esoteric situations, they are more adequately explained as states of psychological disturbance rationalized in these terms. A third of the men-women turned shaman, but I do not know that this followed directly from the transformation.

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[74] Punishment of adultery and other torts by a chief, as described by Gatschet (1:58 *et seq.*), are post-reservation customs.

[75] Handbook, 46, and elsewhere.

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756 838 As both sexes are shamans there was no need for the transformation had this been the goal.

Müksamse'lapli, also called White Sindey, was the berdache shaman. He tried to laugh like a woman. He was twice married, first to a Molala man named Teĭ'ptcĭ, later to a Klamath, Tc!o'mŏks. The latter is known to me as a normal old man who has since raised a family of his own. White Sindey made considerable pretense to shamanistic powers, but was rather scouted. He performed and reacted like an ordinary shaman.

159 838 One of my informants now in his sixties had been a berdache in his youth. I had observed his general unmasculine behavior but it was not until my visit of the second year that another informant gave the reason. He lives alone, takes pride in his cooking and the care of his house, weaves baskets for sale as women do, and still wears a basket hat, which no Klamath man now will. He is fleshy, slow, and distinctly feminine in gait and gestures, and speaks with the higher pitch of women's voices. Yet his transvestite state was given up nearly half a century ago. He is shrewd enough, though mild mannered, yet I confess that I suspected no abnormality. When about sixteen years old he was at the Dalles where an old woman shaman of the place took a fancy to him. He however was afraid that she would harm him so he put on woman's dress. He wore his hair long, prepared lily seeds, wove mats and baskets; all typical women's pursuits. He has never married. After learning his history I brought up the subject of marriage with him. He claimed that he had once been married, his wife having died twenty years ago, and in answer to the question why he had not remarried replied: "Some men like it that way."

838 159 622 The most striking case is that of the chief Lɛle'ks. As an adolescent he wore women's dress and performed the appropriate tasks. One day after returning from the lily seed harvest he lay down to sleep. They placed a bow and arrow and a punt pole by his side, the latter a symbol of women's work. They stood over him and shouted. As he jumped to his feet he grasped the bow, thus determining his future. He ran off to Mount Scott (t!u'mšŭmɛni), staying through the night on the mountain in quest of a supernatural experience. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. He left off women's dress and actions from that time. He became lucky in every way, acquired wealth, especially in horses, and prestige, and became the foremost chief the Klamath have known. His

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## BIRTH

The birth of a first child is an especially significant occasion. If it is the mother's first it will bring strong winds and thunder.[77] The Klamath also hold that in at least one other crisis, on the death and cremation of a shaman, the wind will rage. For the father the coming of the firstborn is one of those occasions on which to seek power in the mountains.

Birth (wiă'sla) must always take place outside the dwelling in a dome-shaped lodge especially prepared by the mother of the expectant woman, her mother's sister, or cousin. This is not the menstrual lodge, for this is used only by women of a shaman's household. This proscription of delivery within the dwelling is shared by other tribes of this latitude (Shasta, Northwestern Maidu, Lemhi, and Wind River Shoshoni) but is unknown to the south.

A woman's first delivery is attended by four or five old women well-known for their skill as midwives and hence not of necessity her relatives. They are sometimes paid a fathom of beads. Men are excluded from the lodge. It may be that no man will chance contamination. I do not know whether shamans are called in difficult cases. It would seem likely, since they have some genuine medical practice, were it not for this restriction.

The procedures surrounding parturition are almost wholly practical and physiologically well founded. The attendants press on the woman's abdomen and lift her repeatedly to hasten delivery. She lies on her back on a bed of grass with a soft pad (coyote or raccoon skin, or duck feathers) arranged to receive the baby. The umbilical cord is cut with an obsidian knife and the stump tied with the mother's hair. If anything else is used for the tie the child will continually cry. The afterbirth (yĕpĕno'ŋ ?) is deeply buried so that no animal may devour it and make the woman barren. Immediately after birth she is seated in the lodge on a bed of hot stones, covered with leaves. On this she must remain blanket-covered for five days. She drinks warm water freely; she may not eat meat nor fish, and must use a scratching stick, just as during catamenia and mourning. At the birth of a first child both parents wear sage-brush bark belts for

[77] It is also the view of the Wishram that the weather is stormy or hot at the birth of a child, according to my information.

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[302] or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head,
neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around
[301] the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'lis) of sage-brush.

At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming;
[291] she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purifica-
tion. Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the cir-
[783] clets are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge
where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone
who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[302]
[531]

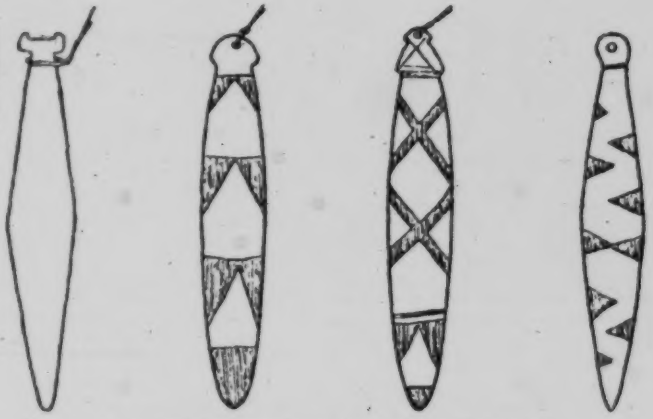

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

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[756] Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi) unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[97] So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

[97] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

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cure by blowing smoke on the patient nor blow it to the distant spirits as an offering. The impression gained was that this is a matter only of self-indulgence during his periods of rest. Gatschet translates a song as "The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool (mülwas), the implement for tobacco," but the word also means any esoteric paraphernalia of the shaman.[135] The lay use of tobacco is at any time that convenience dictates, e.g., when resting in the evening. Women use tobacco as freely as men. The custom of passing the pipe from one to another is probably absent though I made no specific inquiry.

Tobacco (ko'tcka)[136] is smoked, never eaten. A boiled decoction of it is sometimes taken for bowel disorders.

The plant (*Nicotiana attenuata* Wats.) is not cultivated, but commonly grows in dry places.[137] A bundle of these plants together with kinnikinick is hung to dry in the top of the sweat-lodge until the leaves turn brown. Coville states that the dried leaves of manzanita, also, are mixed with the tobacco.[138] According to an informant the seed pods (which are sticky when fresh) and the adjacent parts of the flower are smoked; according to another the leaves and stem. The several plants are ground with any convenient little stone.

276 323 [114] [524]

The pipe (p!ōks) is commonly clay with a spherical bowl and a short wooden stem, but is sometimes of stone and discoidal. The more common stone bowl is elbow-shaped with the arms at an obtuse angle, made of soft sandstone, shaped and hollowed by pecking. Barrett states that the discoidal form is less used than the angular but my information is to the contrary.[139] The stem is elder with the pith pushed out; Coville mentions the wood of the wild rose.[140] The manufacture of clay pipes by a non-pottery making people seems unusual; the only other use of clay is for making dolls. Yet the ease with which clay can be manipulated as against the difficulty of drilling and shaping stone must have favored its use.

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A shaman's pipe (which has no special name) is the common clay bowl fitted with a long stem, eighteen inches or more, wrapped with

[135] 1:167.

[136] No word corresponding to the Shasta ôp, tobacco, Takelma ô$^{u}$p, Crow ôp, etc., is known.

[137] Coville, Notes, 104. One of Powers' correspondents states that the Klamaths (Klamath river people?) cultivated it (Tribes of California, 426).

[138] Coville, Notes, 102. What is here called kinnikinick is probably Coville's bearberry (kä-mä-mi, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray); the common kinnikinick of northern latitudes does not grow so far south as Klamath lakes.

[139] Barrett, Material Culture, 253, pl. 22.

[140] Coville, Notes, 99.

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276 rattlesnake skin. This may be used by the shaman only during the
• 756 ceremonies, but I think not. The tubular pipe is not Klamath. A
[177] long tubular pipe, with a small mouthpiece, found by the Indians at Pelican bay, had been described to my informant as the probable possession of a shaman who resided there. This is probably a trade piece.

## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 The only true musical instrument known to the Klamath is the flute. This with three varieties of rattle and the hand drum make up the sum of their instruments. The musical bow is a plaything.

The flute (slo'lŭs) is played for amusement and in courting;
[562] curiously enough it is played by women as well as men even when courting. Its music is called su'lulu. Various sounds are imitated on
534 the flute, such as the noise of flying pelicans' wings. The melodies
533 include those of shaman's songs, although it is never used in shamanistic rites. I do not know that song is ever accompanied by flute. It
[756] seems more probable that the melodies of certain songs are considered appropriate flute music.[141] There are flute songs about the turtle and deer. The song for the antelope is:

[539]
gaiyo' gaiyo'wa gaiyo' gaiyo'wa
chewing
tcĕwŏm aiĕ'nol tĕli'dŏŋga
antelope me am browsing
slewi's aiĕ'nol tĕli'dŏŋga
wind me am browsing.

He browses along (toward me?) when the wind strikes him (?).

A flute song for the mountain sheep is:

hotŭks nis sĕwă'ĕt geoġe'lɛ wiĕ'sŏm
that allows me that earth mountain sheep

dostŏn hoiha'nsɛ lalĭ'sdŏt
where I run on the ledge on the steep hill.

These are not magical songs for calling game but solely for amusement.

Another song referring to any bird is:

djĭkgasĭtgo djĭkgasĭtgo nɛnea
flutterer flapping.

[141] Gatschet gives the text of several songs, which, because they are neither appropriate to shamanistic or puberty rites, may belong to this category (1:189, 192).

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## II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

### INTRODUCTION

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Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance of 1870.

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The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

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Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

## THE POWER QUEST

The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spū'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stō'kmōtc, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

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787 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, however, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit
881 places.
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787 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more
756 frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost
525 always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude earlier attempts.

787 During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees some-
[756] thing moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Sometimes he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[148] This night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit, nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the
[539] seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an old woman is

e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha
(repeated four times)
noai'meso spu'ŋgŏtgŏple' spŭ'ŋgŏtgŏple'
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming, may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman.

787 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lɛle'ks.
159 This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century, was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

[148] Gatschet also describes this (*op. cit.*, 1:82–84).

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canoe pole and a bow and arrows beside him. Shouting suddenly, they woke him and as he leaped up he seized the bow, thus determining his future life. Running off to Mount Scott he spent the night there. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. In later life he was lucky in everything; much wealth, especially horses, came to him.

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Dreams of the same sort came to men or to old women without being deliberately sought. Should a man have several such visions, he may decide to become a shaman, whereupon he undertakes the customary fire dance of the novice. But if he chooses to ignore them, the power and the opportunity slip away.

Last night I [Pat] dreamed a song: I am nearly a shaman. Yesterday I tried to catch fish but it rained too hard. I then went to town but I could not get what I wanted. So I returned home, ate, and lay down. I dreamed that my horses fell in the mire when I drove near the mountain. I wanted to save them but I could not raise them. I heard a woman's song behind me.

[539]

dje'udjīs snaīwās
feathers all over woman
Helen sna'wās
[his daughter's name] woman

The fish did not like me; they did not let me catch any. They made the bad dream. This is the same way as a shaman dreams.

Another dream, though not of this type, may be inserted here.

Last night I (Coley) dreamed I was chased by a big, black man; not a Negro, just hard to distinguish. He had nearly caught me when I woke and heard the chickens squawking.

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There is only a slight tendency to the inheritance of the shaman's art. The case cited above where a shaman received spirit songs because his grandfather had an experience is hardly to the point, since these experiences are so common that every shaman must have had a close relative who obtained power. But my informant's statement that when a powerful shaman dies his child may become a shaman is borne out by her own case. His spirits and his clairvoyant powers (dode'ūkš, dreaming) are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them.

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Nancy's father, who died before she was born, was a shaman. When she was quite small and could first understand, she began to dream of Frog, a big woman spirit. Sometimes she would jump up at night and run, afraid of the dream. The spirits persisted in trying to make her accept until she was grown; finally she heard their voices whispering close behind her. She was about twenty and had several children at the time. Her relatives did not want her to become a shaman.

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159 Her older sister (i.e., mother's sister's daughter) gave her medicine so that the
756 spirits would no longer bother her. Two of Nancy's children became sick. A sha-
787 man, Alec Wilson, diagnosed their case as due to Nancy's refusal to answer the spirits, to begin the shamanistic performance. Another shaman was called in to relieve her of the spirits. He did it very quickly; he had three or four spirits to lead each of Nancy's "to their side." He used the songs of these spirits immediately, for they were now his. These two spirits were Thunder (lɛme'is) and Falcon (ɛndo'gis). Had Nancy wanted to become a shaman she would have called the people together in order to demonstrate to them in a fire dance.

778 A partial list of spirit places (spŭ'tuks) in Klamath territory is gleaned from my notes. As I made little inquiry about the southern and eastern parts of their country, it happens that most of these lie in the north. They are about equally divided between localities in the Cascade mountains and deep eddies of Williamson river. Undoubtedly some of the rocks described as transformed people, animals, etc., are thought of as places where spirits reside, but as I was not told that power was sought there I have not included them in this list.

Ge'wŭs, Crater lake. People were stolen and taken down into Crater lake by beings there. Some say they have found no water in the lake. Instead there were rocks as big as trees and deep tunnels in the bottom. There are animals, snakes, and a sort of people who live at (or in) the ocean. Men swim in the lake at night to get spirit aid.

778 A second site is ma'kwalks, a point of rock projecting over Crater
787 lake from the western cliff. The seeker clambers down and piles rocks on the point.

On the northwestern side of Ghost's Nest mountain, which lies southwest from Crater lake, is a saucer-shaped bed of rocks overlooking the whole countryside. Lads built their fires near-by and lie in this in order to see a spirit. On the eastern side of the mountain are piles of four or five large rocks, erected by seekers.

Ho'tkakŏnks, Mare's Egg spring, is six miles north of Cherry creek on the western side of Agency Lake marsh. They swim here at night. Once men found no water in this pool but a big man, with hair covering his body, standing in it. When they returned he had disappeared and the pool again held water.

Pau'usnĕkŭs, Harriman (?) mountain southeast of Mount Pitt. The Klamath say this is higher than Mount Pitt; indeed, being nearer, it appears higher. Two accounts pertaining to this mountain may refer to the same incident.

Long ago a Klamath climbed it, but he never returned, for he died of the cold wind although it was summer.

A Pelican bay man, who died long ago, once went to a lake on this mountain at sundown to seek power by swimming. He saw men in it, the backs of some,

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wind; it is really that she breaks wind. They shout to her to stop the wind when it blows too hard, to give them a stern wind to drive their canoes along, or to blow the mosquitoes away from Pelican bay. She also lives at Rocky point on Pelican bay and at Kowa'edi, at the mouth of Wood river, as the following tales[156] relate.

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There were two young girls playing with pond-lily seed at Rocky point. This old woman came and spilled the seed all about. So they fought her, but while they were doing so, they fell over dead. When the two were found, shamans were called who cured them. These two told Nancy about this; they died only recently.

There was an old woman sleeping at the same place. She felt something very heavy sitting on her chest. She put her hand there and caught the wile'ẓkaḳ. Still holding it she started to light a fire, but by the time she had the fire lighted, it had vanished from her grasp.

An old man at Kowa'edi was going home. He saw the wile'ẓkaḳ sitting in his way, grunting. He was a shaman. He went right past it but it never harmed him. This sort of thing has happened many times.

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Teaḳia'ḳ may be seen anywhere, probably most frequently in water. There is one, for instance, in lower Williamson river, above the cut-off channel. One of the upright rocks at the cremation place at Pelican bay is a teaḳia'ḳ. The name is also derived from an age term, te!a'ki, a small boy, but the spirit is said to be no larger than a baby. He has long hair which hangs to his waist in back and he is entirely nude. The wooden images of Teaḳia'ḳ set up by the shamans, however, have red-shafted flicker feathers around the neck.

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Gögа'nᴇ are dwarf men seen in many places but commonly frequenting the Cascade mountains. Their footprints are no longer than a baby's. While all my informants spoke of these beings, it happens that the following experiences (except the last tale) were told Nancy by an old Paiute resident of the reservation.

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This man saw a gögua'nᴇ while hunting in a canyon near Snake Camp. The little man stood up, shaded his eyes with his hand, and looked around. There were some Paiute at Snake Camp who were going to dig Indian potatoes. They saw a baby walking around. One woman picked it up. The gögа'nᴇ carried her far off to a cave in the mountains.

A Paiute woman was cutting willows. She left her little baby near by while she worked. A gögа'nᴇ came along and, devouring the baby, substituted himself in the cradle board. When the mother came back she thought it was her own. She picked it up and began to nurse it. The baby would not stop suckling. She pinched its mouth but it would not stop, it only smiled. When she got home she heated an iron and put it against the baby's mouth, but still it just smiled. They could not get the baby away from her. Then they built a big fire. They cut her breast off, but the woman immediately died. They threw the baby into the fire,

[156] Told by Nancy Phillips.

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This is a spirit. Doubtful as spirits are certain other stones; yati's which stands at I'wal, and nĕ'ḳnŭḳ, a group of stones back of Du"Ilḳŭt, both towns on Klamath marsh. These are "shaman stones"; evidently once living things, for it was said that they were transformed when Crow laughed at them.

A Molala struck one of the nĕ'ḳnŭḳ stones with a basket, saying, "How can this rock have power?" He soon sickened and died. The nĕ'ḳnŭḳ is a shaman.

## SHAMANISM

The shaman (ḳiu'ks) is one who has acquired more than usual spirit power. This is a relative matter; some shamans have considerably more power than others, and everyone who has got power is in some degree capable of using it as a shaman does. One of my informants, for example, now avowedly a member of the pseudo-Christian Shaker sect, maintains that he too is a little qualified; he can make it rain. Shamanism is completely individualistic among the Klamath; there are no shamanistic organizations.

It is clear that the shaman is the most important individual in Klamath society, taking precedence over rich men, the chiefs. Shamans' houses are the largest in the village and they have at least as much property as wealthy laymen. Invariably my informants spoke first of shamans in describing outstanding individuals. Their behavior and practices were readily formulated, whereas I experienced considerable difficulty in learning the functions and even the names of chiefs. It is reasonably certain that the status of the chiefs, that is the rich men, was relatively unimportant until the introduction of horses in the middle of the last century stimulated trading with the Columbia river tribes and perhaps brought in some of the northern view of the importance of wealth and chieftaincy. There is no doubt that the position of chiefs was strengthened by the habit of the whites of dealing with chiefs and other prominent laymen.

Shamans are both men and women, but unlike the Shasta, the majority are men. My informants mentioned many men shamans during the course of my visits, and this probably did not exhaust their memories; but on request they could muster only four women shamans and one berdache. Women never acquire the prestige of men for they are rarely credited with such unusual powers as men. They cannot wander in the mountains nor dive for power so well as men;

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756 562 they are more easily frightened. Nevertheless two of my informants said that women could cure more readily than men. All four women held the regular shamanistic winter performance, and cured as well, but only one of them had power to find out if another shaman had poisoned her patients, although all male shamans can do this.[100] The berdache White Sindey claimed to be a powerful shaman but no one believed her.

756 There are no specialized types of shaman. The weather shaman, the rattlesnake and bear shamans of Californian tribes are not known here. There is however a suggestion; wounds made by grizzly bears can be cured by songs of a huge spirit grizzly according to one informant, although this was scouted by another. Weather is controlled by the songs of a special group of spirits, but, as elsewhere, this power is exercised by shamans in addition to their usual curative capacity. There is no special power for curing snake bites. It may happen that some shamans have only the power to control the weather or to cure bear wounds, but I heard of none. It is clear, however, that the Klamath would not single them out.

756 776 A shaman has powers from many spirits and is always accumulating more. I could not get my informants to specify which powers belonged to particular shamans. Beyond specifying what songs a shaman used in a particular instance, they implied that an experienced shaman knew an inexhaustible number or would doubtless claim to have them at his command. Hence several shamans have songs from a spirit at the same time. The songs are probably not identical. At the same time it is not likely that two shamans will be performing at once, so that the problem of conflicting claims to possession probably never arises. I am also uncertain whether spirits are thought of as individuals or genera; even in the case of anthropomorphic beings, I believe they imply a plurality. Hence they would doubtless resolve the difficulty by maintaining that they had the same songs from different spirit coyotes, dwarfs, winds, or whatever.

New spirits are always being sought or come unsolicited in dreams. A spirit, like that which gives the power to swallow fire, "comes stronger and stronger" until the shaman feels compelled to perform this trick. If he fails to obey the insistent spirit he will die.

[100] This is the case described by Gatschet (1:64-68) and also cited by my informant.

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A shaman, kiu'kamag (Shaman Man), was working in a hayfield for some whites. He lay down saying he had a headache. His spirit, the buzzard, was making him sick because he did not heed it. He told his companions to fetch him a snake. He took the little watersnake by the tail and swallowed it. He said he was cured; the snake was no longer in him but had left his body immediately. 756 776

The shaman is possessed during his performances. He is the vehicle of the spirit; the spirit sings with his voice, sucks with his lips, and sees with his eyes. It is not in him at other times, but in its home in the mountains or under the water and must be called on to enter his body. The shaman's behavior was instanced as follows. 756

A shaman, Alec Wilson, was singing of his coyote spirit during a winter performance attended by my informant Nancy, then a little girl. He chuckled for quite a time, saying, "There are lots of swamp mice here." Then he crawled across the lodge through the audience and stealing up behind Nancy bit her hard. He bit her because she was moving around.

A trance state is not part of the shaman's behavior, nor was a frenzy described. The stereotyped physiological disturbance, real or feigned, is blood gushing from the mouth while he falls unconscious. The absence of the trance state suggests that the shaman is not of necessity psychologically abnormal.

The shaman's house is always an earth-lodge and practically all performances take place within it. Not only larger than the ordinary dwellings, it differs from them in being decorated. It is the usual semi-subterranean structure with a conical earth-covered roof resting on four central posts. The entrance is by a hatchway in the roof with the ladder at the east end. The fire is kindled directly under this opening. The posts are painted with horizontal stripes, alternately red and white. They are not carved. According to one informant, men's faces, snakes, lizards, animals of all sorts, but not spirits, are painted on the posts; but I doubt this. The grass-stuffed skins of various animals and birds, probably all of them representing the shaman's spirits, are hung under the slanting roof beams; mink, skunk, crane, tcauwlō'ks (a duck-like bird), butterball duck, white whitepoke, rattlesnake, a big speckled snake, and the dried skin of the lizard were mentioned. The birds have outstretched wings. Standing on the roof of the lodge, on the northern side of the hatchway, is a wooden image of tcakia'k, the little boy spirit, made by the shaman. Head, trunk, and arms are rudely carved and painted. Red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers are fastened around its neck (only shamans wear the feathers of this bird). 756 342 [358] [532]

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The Field Museum collection contains a carved wooden image (no. 61763) of a woman bearing a child on her back. This may be one of the figures set on a shaman's house, although I was not told of such. It is about forty inches high. The carving is rudimentary; there is nothing to indicate how the child is carried. The ear lobes of the woman's figure have been pierced and a bit of cloth inserted.

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The stuffed skin of a blue crane is also propped up outside. I presume these are placed there only when the boy and crane are the shaman's spirits.[159] Gatschet's informant mentioned a red fox skin hanging on an oblique rod set up outside the lodge.[160] A tall slim pole, called wa"lasdŭ'pka (wa"las, standing up), with horizontal bands of red, is erected in front of the house, that is to the east, about fifteen feet distant. A long cord pendant from the top bears at intervals mixed bunches of feathers from eagles and other spirit birds. A miniature gambling tray tied to it belongs to a woman spirit, and near the top is a piece of wood representing the spirit wŏkda'lis, which so far as I could learn *is* wood. Similar feather-bearing cords hang from the house posts inside the lodge, but here the gambling tray is one of standard size. All such articles, his special decorations, regalia, pipe, and baskets, are known as the shaman's mŭ'lwas, paraphernalia.

A shaman's outfit "used in certain curing rites" in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61564) consists of a cord at intervals on which are tied alternately short sticks and wooden tablets. The short sticks are reeds, nine in number, four to seven inches long. These have marks burned (?) transversely or spirally on them. The tablets are rectangular, with rounded corners and with a short handle at one end by which they are tied to the cord. These measure about five and a half inches long by two inches wide, and are painted red except for the section nearest the cord, which is black. The two-strand cord is also red.

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The shaman's dress includes a band of woodpecker scalps worn on the forehead or around the neck, or a bunch of red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers attached to the top of the hat or worn as a necklace. Shamans alone wear these. These are the familiar ornaments of northern Californian dancers. The forehead band reaches just behind the temples; the woodpecker scalps are fastened on a buckskin foundation. The quills of the flicker feathers are doubled over the cord on which they are strung. The shaman's body is painted red during the winter performances, but not at all when he is curing. That he is barefoot emphasizes the recency of moccasins. The shaman puts on special dress to cure only if the case is urgent. He then dons a mink or weasel skin hat with feathers of all sorts attached, a special

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[159] The Modoc also place them on the lodge, I was told.
[160] Gatschet, 1:71–72.

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(?) buckskin shirt, and wrist and neckbands of weasel. Some shamans wear a necklace of grizzly bear claws. (Other men never wear bear claws.) His face is painted black. Then he is powerful to cure, sawi'gan gi'na. Gatschet describes a band of otter skin worn round the neck and bearing various shells, feathers, bird scalps, etc.; hence it "must unite the magic powers of them all."[161]

Some articles of shaman's regalia are in the collections of the Field Museum. A bear-skin cap (no. 61563?) consists of the head skin, decorated on two or three sides with circular disks of buckskin ornamented with quillwork. These are one and three-quarters inches in diameter, and bear three concentric equidistant rings of quillwork, the most central containing a cross of the same.

A shaman's wand "used in curing ceremonies" (no. 61676) is a three-foot shaft bearing bunches of feathers bound on at two points, with a bundle of dew claws tied to the butt. The feathers are gray; they are bound at points about one-third of the distance from each end of the shaft. The bindings and the shaft have been painted red. The dew claws are pendant on individual thongs, each of which is wrapped with quills at two points.

The prescriptions affecting the dress of the laity at the shamanistic performances are illuminating. Everyday dress, at least for wealthier individuals, is of the Plains type; moccasins, skin shirt, long leggings, and breech clout for the men and long skin dress for women. Poorer people wear skirts of tule or buckskin and are barefoot. But the latter garb is obligatory at these dances. This is clearly another instance of conservatism in the field of religion, for the marginal position of the Klamath to the area in which Plains garments are worn, and the known recency of manifold contacts with the Plains-like tribes of the Columbia suggest that Plains dress is a recent acquisition. The hair hangs loosely down the back but is tied about close to the head. As usual basket hats are worn. Dancers, however, wear hats made of animals which are spirits.

Taboos and other restrictions on shamans are only feebly developed. A shaman must avoid a menstruant woman; in fact, women who live in a shaman's house must leave their homes at these periods, whereas otherwise this is not usual. Etiquette requires that anyone crossing the lodge must pass in back of a seated shaman; at least when he shows signs of communing with his spirits or is eating. This holds whether a performance is going on or not. Otherwise blood gushes from his mouth and he falls unconscious. One informant had seen this happen to the berdache shaman White Sindey while she was eating. The result is the same if anything falls in front of a shaman. There are

[161] *Op. cit.*, 1:172.

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no food taboos; shamans and others can eat their spirit animals. The only taboo of conduct peculiar to any spirit known is the prohibition against wearing footgear by one who has a dog spirit. For example, a Molala-Klamath halfbreed, the wife of the chief Li'lu, who dreamed of this spirit, never wore any protection for her feet even in the winter snows.

The shaman is cremated and his house burned like other Klamath. Usually his regalia, feathers and skins, are destroyed with the house. This must wait for calm weather; then only an old woman dare burn them. Immediately a storm rises, with strong winds and thunder, but lasts only a night. When the shaman dies and again when his body is burned, storms rage for several days.

## THE SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCE

While curing of necessity takes place at any time, shamanistic performances are given at only one time during the year. This is a nameless period, the fourth month (December–January), in midwinter,[162] the coldest period when the lake is frozen and the timber cracks with the cold. By this time all the earth-lodges are reconstructed and the Klamath are settled in their winter quarters. This is a period of enforced inactivity, what with the intense cold, the deep snows, and their inability to hunt and fish. Furthermore, the seances cannot be held any later in the winter for then they begin to run short of provisions, I was told, which is undoubtedly true and yet may be a rationalization. This brings to mind the winter sacred period of the Northwest Coast tribes, with its quiet dictated by a fear of profanation. It is not sacred to the ordinary Klamath; spirits are sought at any time. It is significant only to shamans and others who have spirits.

Shamans make a point of giving their performances every winter. A number of them may join for the purpose. The novice waits for winter to prove the coming of his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The advent of power is called dodi'ḳalgŏt. Non-shamans who have a little power, perhaps a single spirit, may sing their own songs at a shaman's performance if the spirit impels them.

The shaman informally[163] invites the participants to his home for

[162] There is a discrepancy here in that the Klamath reckon a year of ten months, and these lunar periods begin with the lunation of August. My informants made it quite clear, however, that, although they specified the fourth month, they meant the period about Christmas.

[163] Knotted invitation strings, for instance, are unknown.

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the winter dance. They bring food for a feast, especially pond-lily seed contained in large boiling baskets. This is left outside the lodge until the close of each night's dance and may not be touched for fear of sickness. Children are excluded except from some of the sleight-of-hand performances. The invitation includes men and women, not necessarily relatives, who know the songs and are willing to help. A man is chosen to shout during the performance, calling the spirits from their distant homes to help the shaman. Another is more carefully chosen to act as the shaman's interpreter.

This speaker or interpreter (lodō'tka) functions both at this performance and at curing practice. The shaman always asks the same man to act for him; obviously an important element in his success. Nancy's husband, for example, was always speaker for White Sindey, the berdache shaman. Older men are preferred and never women. The shaman holds his clenched fist over his mouth while talking with the spirit's voice, and while he talks no esoteric language but good Klamath, he shouts and whispers so rapidly and incoherently that his words must be repeated by the speaker. This assistant also prepares and lights the shaman's pipe. Evening and morning during the performance he stands atop the lodge and calls to the shaman's spirits in the mountains. He is paid in blankets and beads. Clownishness is not part of his rôle.

The audience sits close to the walls, each family by itself. The shaman reclines on his sleeping mats which are usually on the northern side of the lodge, but sometimes on the opposite side. This is his place on everyday occasions. His family is grouped back of him and his speaker is at his side. He dances on the northern side in front of his bed or rather in the central space between the four posts.[164] This is swept smooth and no one is allowed to cross it to reach the ladder, for instance, even when there is a lull in the singing. The singers are seated on the southern side.

The performance, called wa'hla, takes five days and nights, of which the first day and night are the most significant. They begin in the early morning with the fire dance. Five piles of dry non-resinous wood have been placed at intervals outside the central space. The pile to the south of the foot of the ladder is first used. The shaman dances on the south (?) side of the huge fire as close as he dares; the men who help him, dance on the opposite side.[165] Their step may be a

[164] There is no dance platform, such as the stretched elk hide of the Wishram, which my informant had seen.

[165] Their positions are probably the reverse.

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jump (sideways ?) with the feet together, but I am not sure. Women may dance if men are few, but all the audience joins in the singing. As the fire dies down it is replenished with each of the four remaining piles in sinistral order, the last being that north of the foot of the ladder. This occupies the whole day and is not repeated during the five-day period. Its purpose is to call the spirits to act through the shaman, to give him the strength to perform the feats of legerdemain that follow.[166]

The nights are given over to these shamanistic tricks. Two tricks, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are part of every shaman's stock in trade. They are performed by the novice during the first night, though they may never be repeated in any subsequent winter ceremony. Until the novice has made the ceremony to show that he can carry off these two feats, he is no shaman and cannot cure.

The fire-swallowing trick (ko'pgŭs p'an, torches eating) is performed with the aid of an old lake trout spirit (tewĭm or me"yăs), or rather they say the spirit eats the fire. Five men stand in a row each holding a bundle of resinous wood slivers, ten inches long and two inches thick, called ko'pgŭs. The shaman dances in front of them, others dance vigorously with him while they sing,

ko'pgŭs babi's ġistsa'mpka
I eat fire while I walk.
gĕno·gĭta ġistsa'mpka
This is where I have been walking.

The trout is represented as singing. The torches are lighted, the shaman snatches them in quick succession, puts out the fire with a gulp, and flings them aside.

The companion trick is swallowing arrowheads; this follows fire-swallowing after an interval. The fire has been allowed to die and is only rekindled as a little light is needed. Perhaps twenty obsidian arrowheads are tied at intervals on a cord, which one man feeds to the shaman as he dances. He swallows these with the aid of certain bird spirits, or rather the spirits eat the blades: gau'wi, a blue and brown bird, wĕ'tgŏtgis, a spotted hawk, and ɬ!ŏt'ia'was, a small sea gull (noisy, white, with forked tail and black spots on head). A tule mat is arranged like a cape over the shaman who now seats himself. They sing the songs of the bear spirit, now represented in the shaman, to bring back the arrows. Soon they hear him cry out, "ha," as each

[166] Briefly described by Gatschet (1:70).

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blade flies back and sticks into the mat. This performance is called stŏpswa'lc. 756

A variant of this was ascribed by Coley Ball to a shaman of years' standing. He performed it on each of the five nights, which a novice would never do.

I saw a shaman dancing in an earth-lodge. Then two men swung him around head down through the hatchway, each holding by a leg. Two men below held the ends of a string to which five obsidian blades were attached at intervals of a foot. He swallowed the blades and cord, and became unconscious. They rolled him in a mat, bound it, and slung the bundle under the slanting beams at the north side of the lodge so that his head was to the east. Then the women sang. Suddenly he cried, "ha," five times and with each cry a blade appeared stuck in the mat. But the cord was not seen again. They took him down and laid him on his bed. Then he began to sing.

The morning following this dance everyone except the shaman goes to bathe in spite of the ice that may be in the water. When they return to the shaman's house the food is brought inside and eaten. The shaman, however, must fast through the whole five-day period. The food, or at least the pond-lily seed, which has stood outside the lodge for twenty-four hours, is thought to be eaten first by the frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one else may. A young woman once went out to steal some; when she touched it, the pond-lily seeds turned to blood. This frog spirit is a big woman who is the principal spirit of every shaman. [776]

When a novice performs, the following four nights are given over to singing and dancing like that of the first day. Experienced shamans, however, show their power by filling all five nights with such performances. Each morning there is bathing and feasting, and on the fifth morning they return home. One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others.

Pat Kane stated that the shaman's winter performance, which he called ba'pie'nE, lasts only two nights and is solely occupied with singing. I probably misunderstood him.

Other shamanistic tricks are of the same order; various objects are swallowed, others are made to appear and vanish, or the stuffed animal skins in the lodge are brought to life. The tricks of plunging the bare arm into hot water and of walking on fire are unknown. During these performances no one walks about or talks except as he is directed by the shaman. These are all carried out in semi-darkness.

For the wood-swallowing trick, five, ten, or twenty small flat wooden splints, called wŏkda'lls (see above), shaped like arrowheads,

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are hung from as many strings. A circle of old men dance about the shaman each dangling one of these. The shaman goes to each in turn, swallowing the splint held above his mouth. Another night he brings the splints back as in the arrowhead trick, using a different song. He calls to them to build up the fire; they see the splints stuck into the mat with which he is wrapped.

Long sticks are swallowed with the aid of a sea gull (ḳ!ō̆t'ia'was) spirit. This is one of the regular winter performance tricks, but the details I have are those of a Fourth of July celebration. Pokĕtdjŏ'tk, a shaman, was hired by some whites to do this. He had a flat stick, six or seven inches long, which was lowered into his gullet by another man. One old white man seized him by the throat, thinking he would choke. Pokĕtdjŏ'tk asked the crowd, "Do you want it to come back?" and at their response it jumped out of his mouth.[107]

Shamans also have a trick of drinking huge quantities of water, four or five gallons, without stopping.

Corresponding to the series of swallowing tricks are several in which various things, fish, seeds, frogs, and blood are made to appear in a basket. For the fish trick the shaman has a man fill a small basket with water. They sing three songs of a big snake, those for male, female, and the young of the snake. The first song is that of the young snake. He then tells someone to look into the water. This man holds a light over it but there is nothing there. He sings another song, that of the male or female indifferently. When the same man looks again the water contains tiny fish (a'mpwăn yĕT'ăs). After the third song, they see five minnows or several varieties of fish. He then tells this man to throw the fish into the river. Throughout the affair the shaman remains on his bed; no one goes near the basket except the man who inspects it each time. It may be that this trick is an incidental magical means of increasing the fish supply. A shaman is called on to bring the fish if they are late in running in the early spring, but the informant who told me this had never heard of the trick just described.

The pond-lily seed trick is similar. The songs are those of the big frog spirit (djɛdje'llstei). The shaman has an old woman half-fill a basket with water and cover it with a smaller one. He lies well back toward the wall during the performance, rising only to smoke. His speaker lights the pipe but is warned not to inhale the smoke. The shaman first sings the frog's child's (daughter's ?) song. One man

[107] See also the snake-swallowing episode above.

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after another talks to the various spirits that fill the house. The shaman tells the old woman to hold a light over the basket; nothing is seen. Two (?) songs of the frog are next sung and when she looks again the basket is filled with pond-lily seeds. All the old men look at it. When he sings the frog's final song, she finds the seeds gone and a tiny frog in their place. No one touches the basket. This conjunction of seeds and frog is rather interesting because it suggests that there is an association of the two. It will be recalled that pond-lily seeds brought to the feast cannot be touched until the spirit frog has partaken. It may also be significant that the attendant here is an old woman, for the frog spirit is conceived as an old woman and a woman with spirit power is necessarily old.

The spirit for the blood trick is nameless. It resembles a wild man, but was not described further. The shaman tells them to fetch a basket, part of the paraphernalia of another shaman. He sings this spirit's song. One man told to investigate finds the basket full of blood. When he sings again, the blood disappears. All the while the shaman lies covered up far from the basket. Only the most powerful shamans can perform this trick.

A trick of quite another sort is that of making the stuffed skins of animals which adorn the shaman's lodge move about as in life. A powerful Modoc shaman, Djŏ'klonos (black sage-brush head), had little cottontail rabbits hanging in his earth-lodge. Sometimes they would run around as though alive; they were spirits. He had a stuffed butterball duck skin hanging on the south side. Sometimes this spirit made blood flow from the duck's bill and at other times it flew about in the lodge. His song was

gle'gŏtk sne'en
dead one flying about
nanĕ'mbŏmba'ktisnise'ĕn
butterball duck flying around.
Even though I am dead, I am butterball duck flying around.

Pat Kane described a performance which he saw when a little boy at Pelican bay. The shaman held a fire dance during the day. Then he told the people to place various stuffed skins on the floor of the lodge: mink, weasel, a shitepoke (tuwa'), and owl. He sang songs for each of the animals. He first sang one of the shitepoke's songs and told them to watch whether it moved. It did not. He sang its second song and the bird walked around pecking at the ground. It had been a dried skin for ten years or more. He sang the mink's song three times. The mink moved about holding a little minnow in its teeth.

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• 756 He sang a song of the weasel spirit. The animal rose and danced, holding up his fore paws. That evening Pat's parents took him into the lodge again. The shaman sang the weasel song again. It danced as before; then it disappeared. No one moved. It was dark in the lodge; the shaman had two men standing on opposite sides with torches. He sang a weasel song, telling them to watch for the weasel's return. Suddenly its tail appeared from the ground, shaking. He sang a second weasel song for some time and its hind quarters appeared. A third song brought the trunk, and with the fourth the weasel lay there motionless. Everyone saw it. The shaman asked, "Did you find that the weasel came back?" "Yes." "Did everyone see it?" "Yes." After this they had spirit singing again, so Pat was sent out by his mother. There were bad spirits coming, which might catch and kill him for no one could cure him.[168]

## WEATHER CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

The shaman's art is not confined to these winter performances, but is invoked during the year, not only for curing, but whenever his ability to manipulate conditions and to prophesy is needed. The weather is controlled, fish are made to run, lost articles and thefts discovered, the fate of a war party is foreseen, and the community protected against malignant spirits. It is easy to see why the shaman transcends the chief in the popular mind, for there is not only the recurring winter ceremony in which the shaman alone has a stellar part, but in every emergency they turn to him, not to the chief. Even in war, the one occasion for a layman to star, the shaman steps in to dim his prominence.

756 There are no special weather shamans and the practice is by both 789 sexes. There is the limitation, however, that weather control is exercised only through certain spirits, which the novice does not have.

[532] [168] There are three stone figurines in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California (catalogue nos. 1–14181, 1–14182, 1–14212) which were said to have been collected on the Klamath reservation and to have been used ceremonially. Two roughly resemble animals, one with a pack, and the third a human bust. Repeated inquiries brought only denials from my informants of any knowledge of their use. Nor have any figurines been found in their country. They may nevertheless have been the private medicine of some shaman. Somewhat similar stone figures from the Wasco are in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History.

[292] In the Field Museum collection is also a pair of eye rings (no. 61533), resembling our spectacle frames, which were "worn by men with blackened faces to frighten children at certain ceremonies." I learned nothing of such articles. The rings and the cords to fasten them about the head are made of strands wrapped with bark.

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The songs of these spirits bring southerly winds and storm or the cold north wind to clear the sky. There is the suggestion here that weather control is a winter practice; hence it falls in the period most suitable for shamanistic performances. Rain is brought with the songs of the flicker, a black bird (nāo'lins), the horned owl, red shitepoke, and a big water snail (ḳ!awi's). Wīle'aḳaḳ, Dwarf Old Woman, lying on Mount Pitt, controls the west wind; she can cause the heaviest downpour when the snow lies too deep. The prairie chicken makes the loudest thunder. Rattlesnake makes rain and thunder; the thunder is his rattling. To make it snow they use the songs of various white things, such as the pelican, which causes the greatest fall, and the white grizzly and brown bears. Clear weather is brought by a strong north wind; the songs for this are those of a hawk (tcī'ktu), magpie, crow, and Gŏga'nᴇ, a dwarf, who is most potent. Crow is thought to have cross-eyes; when he rolls them, it stops snowing. The songs of the winds are also used; there are seven of these, one for each of the compass points except northeast. Winds raised by shamans cause sickness and death. There are other spirits which control the weather but these are the principal ones.

The shaman lies alone singing in his earth-lodge or sweat-lodge. If he does not succeed in a single night or if he is only partly successful, he calls the people to help him with the regular performance (wa'hla), dancing and singing to invoke the aid of more spirits. Nancy's father could make the weather change. He had two spirits, crow to stop the falling snow and the water snail to bring rain when it grew too cold. While other shamans could make the wind blow, the snow drift, and cause it to thunder, Nancy does not know that her father could. His crow song was

[539]

ḳaḳ kŏ'mᴇ ge'o
crow mine
bĕlis galo' holi'ta
cross-eyed sky cleared.

His second song made it rain immediately,

ḳ!awiḳ!a ya'nu'
water snail am I.

He sang these in his earth-lodge.

An exhibition of weather control of quite different character is described in the following incident. The shaman ḳiu'ksmag (Shaman Man) went to Ashland in the autumn to trade but he could not return because of deep snow on the Cascade range. He was challenged to make it rain. He melted a strip of lead in a frying pan and had some one pour it down his gullet. They could hear it hiss. In the middle of the night it rained so hard that the snow melted away.

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The shaman is called on to exercise this art when the weather is unpropitious and the food supply in danger. If the ice stays late in the spring so that they cannot fish, they go to the shaman to get him to make it rain. If it rains but no fish come, they ask him again to bring the fish. The first catch is always divided so that everyone has something to relieve his hunger.

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Should the fish disappear from the mouth of Williamson river, for example, an old man will ask a shaman to discover the cause. He invites them to assist in the singing-dancing performance in his lodge to call the spirits, which in this case is expedited to two nights instead of the usual five. It appears that a shaman above them on the river, growing jealous of their success in fishing, has sent a spirit mink under the water to drive the fish away or take them to some other people. The spirit that makes the fish run is a big sluggish snake. The shaman causes two female snakes to lie in the mouth of the river. Then he tells the fishermen to try their luck and to bring him a fish, male (ḳō'ktsials) or female ('lū'kṣāls), from each net. This performance is called kie'rmalo'ɛ, to make fish.

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Rivalry among the shamans is glaringly apparent. It not only appears in the shamanistic tricks where the results are tangible and visible but extends for obvious reasons to superior claims of weather control and to the detection and conquest of other shamans' sickness-bringing spirits, with the dispatch of malignant spirits in turn. Contests in manipulating the weather are not a special form of shamanistic activity among the Klamath, and I doubt that they are among other American tribes where the practice has been described.

A Modoc put a spirit on Mount Shasta to make it snow. The spirit caused sickness as well. A Klamath shaman performed the usual dance-song ceremony and discovered that the Modoc shaman was at the bottom of the mischief. He sent one of his own spirits to catch the spirit on the mountain and enslave it. When it was caught the Modoc died.

A very powerful Modoc shaman, Black Sage-brush Head, had a stone pipe. Whenever he wanted to smoke, the pipe lit itself, or rather a spirit did it. He visited Ctai'is, a Klamath shaman living at the mouth of Williamson river, and exchanged pipes with him. After his return home, Ctai'is found the pipe missing. Later they had word from the Modoc that the pipe had returned to him.[169]

There is no question that the rivalry cuts deeper at times. A shaman accused of causing sickness stands in danger of his life, and the matter may turn on the relative personalities of the rivals. It is patent then why foreign shamans are accused, Modoc and Paiute for

[169] This appealed to the humor of my informants enormously.

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example, rather than local men whose secure position in the community may prove a boomerang to the accuser. No man would be called a witch (ḳoi'tax) save one who is thought to possess scant ability to cure. Yet at least one instance was cited of the killing of a shaman of standing: he had repeatedly performed the fire-swallowing trick. Only one among the women shamans was credited with power to discover bewitching.[170] That they believe that only a shaman of great power can discover this or can send a spirit on a similar errand is a sure indication of the seriousness of the accuser's position.

There is a well defined procedure for discovering whether a spirit has been sent into the mountains roundabout by a malevolent shaman. Following the customary five nights' performance, the shaman leaves his lodge in the forenoon. He takes a position in front of a group of women who are to sing his song. He rushes about in an effort to catch the spirit, followed at a distance by five or ten men whom he has chosen. He runs all day; it is very difficult to catch. When he has it, he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. The runners seize him, a man holding each arm while he holds the spirit between his cupped palms. He plunges it into a basket of water, holding it submerged for a long time. Then he exhibits it, a tiny lizard, for example. During all this time blood gushes from his mouth; he can neither sing nor speak. Soon after this some powerful foreign shaman will die, for they have caught his spirit.

Similarly a powerful Klamath shaman may send his spirit among the Modoc, the Pit river tribes, or into another local Klamath group. Warm Springs, my informant thought, is too far away. This is done during the winter performance. No minor shaman can do this, only those who have powerful spirits, animals that kill: for example, snakes, wolf, coyote, weasel, lizard, golden eagle, big black frogs (ko'wɛ), smaller frogs (wă'ḳătăs), and tiny ones with striped faces (le''eambŏ'-tkls). The spirits of the sun, moon, stars, and the winds are of no use in this connection, although I was told that a magically produced wind causes sickness. Spirit poisoning (bewitching) is called tawi'.[171] Disease is népaks, according to Gatschet.

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[170] The case is described by Gatschet (1:64-68).

[171] There appears to be no word for poison, a noxious agent. Stĕ'tmus is the term applied to "poisoned" arrowheads, but these are obsidians from a certain magical source, and carry no venom. Spawu'ta is bait, such as fish bait and the bait used in traps, hence by extension it has come to include arsenic, for example, now used in poisoning bait. (Gatschet gives Modoc shpaŭtăsh, 1:18.) One cannot say he has been poisoned by the wild parsnip (ska'wŏṷks), only that he has eaten it: ska'wŏṷks ot pŏ'pgs.

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787 Clairvoyance, at least the ability to see distant objects and events, lies within the power of any shaman. This is called dode'ŭks, to dream. My informant Nancy, who in her youth was on the way to becoming a shaman, had at least this power before she was deprived of her spirits (see above). The spirits talk to the clairvoyant; among her spirits was a bear.

Lost articles are found through the dog spirit. The people are lined up in two opposing rows—an excellent psychological expedient for discovering guilt—while the shaman passes along searching for the suspect. He sees the stolen object shine in the thief's upraised palm. This takes place in the open. My informant had seen this practiced once when some beads were stolen in a gambling group.

The shaman's prevision of what will happen in battle is decidedly more important. This ability is acquired through the eagle and weasel spirits, and perhaps others. During the war dance preparatory to setting out or at camp on the march, the shaman dances in front of the line of warriors, looking "through" them. He predicts who will be killed or wounded, and how the enemy will suffer. He sees them bleeding. One informant stated that those for whom disaster was predicted would not go to war, but others said this is not so and they are probably right. For example, while a mixed group of Klamath and Modoc were encamped on the way to Pit river, a Modoc shaman predicted, "If you are to be shot, then your bowstrings will snap," and the strings of two did snap.[172] Shamans accompany war parties, not only to fight, but to watch over them and cure the wounded.

### CURING

755 Curing practice lacks the *mise en scène* of the winter performance held in the figure-decked shaman's lodge, for it always takes place in the patient's home. Nevertheless, it must be quite an impressive affair with its accumulating intensity as spirit after spirit is called to the assemblage, as one after the other they are charged with [753] responsibility for the illness. Sickness in the Klamath view is due to spirit activity, the presence in the patient of an intrusive object rather than possession, and a cure (hĕswŏ'mbli or teo'ta) is effected by removing and destroying it. There is no suggestion here of soul loss as a cause of illness.

[172] Gatschet, 1:21.

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755 Shamans never practice in concert. If one fails another is called. If the first discovers that another shaman is responsible for the illness, the relatives will insist on the accused making a cure, if they do not kill him forthwith, which is much more likely.[181] I was not told that a consistently unsuccessful shaman is killed, but it is very probable that he would be accused of witchcraft unless he retired from the field confessing his lack of power.

A shaman of du'kwa named Lĕ"l'wis was thought by the people of iu"lalowx to have bewitched one of their people who died. Later when another was sick they sent for him pretending their need. They slew him with an axe.[182]

[276] Coville observes that "the dried root stocks [of the blue flag or iris (ghă'-gum läk'-ō, *Iris missouriensis* Nutt.)] are sometimes used by medicine men as a smoking material, mixed with white camas [wild parsnip?], *Zygadenus venenosus*, and a little tobacco, to give a person a severe nausea, in order to secure a heavy fee for making him well again."[183]

752 It is distinctly unusual to find that among the Klamath the shaman
• 756 also figures in curing practice of a non-shamanistic, matter-of-fact variety. Blood is sucked from wounds and ostensibly from fractures; this is one reason for his accompanying a war party. The songs for this are those of buzzard and coyote, who eat carrion, of the wolf, mosquito, fly, horsefly, or any animal or insect that feeds on human blood and flesh. The patient is then usually turned over to a layman for further care. A fracture is treated by applying a cautery all around the spot, smearing the limb with pine pitch and wrapping it with wide strips of buckskin. Wooden splints are not used, nor sweating as a cure. Wounds are dressed with poultices of plants known to some of the older people. One informant said that only wounds in the limbs were dressed, but this is improbable.

Endjla'yukta (the father of my informant Nancy) received an arrow wound in an arm during a feud. Although he was himself a shaman, he did not attempt to treat himself, but called on Ĕkta'as, the shaman who was serving as the spiritual guardian of this war party. The latter pulled out the arrow, applied a poultice made of the leaves of an unidentified plant, and bound the arm. The wounded man eventually died of this wound.

Wounds made by a grizzly bear are treated by a shaman who has the songs of a huge spirit grizzly. The shaman prances about in imitation of the bear, palms raised in front of his shoulders to represent

[181] Gatschet cites a case (1:68–69).
[182] The revenge taken by his son Kŏ'ldinks is described above.
[183] Coville, Notes, 93.

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the fore paws. He wears neither a bear skin nor claws. This is the information of Pat Kane, but Nancy Phillips when asked about this scouted the idea. The only one wounded by a bear so far as she knew was a shaman, Poketdjŏ'tk, who cured himself of a black bear bite. It is of course possible that he had the song of the black bear unknown to her.

There are no special rattlesnake shamans, but a shamanistic cure for the bite was described. While Jim Jackson was in the Modoc country a rattler struck him in the finger leaving a fang in it. He neither killed the snake nor cut open the wound as is customary. The fang traveled up into his arm, which swelled and began to be spotted like the snake. Poketdjŏ'tk sang one or two songs and sucked out the tooth in a short time. He showed it to everyone after spitting it into his palm. It was minute and fine as a hair; one could not see it well. Next morning Jim, having recovered, paid a horse. This took place by day. This shaman also sucked a fang from the foot of another injured man. So far as Nancy knew, he was the only one who ever cured these bites and what spirit he used she did not know. The rattlesnake is the spirit of many shamans but they do not know how to cure snake bites.

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There is a quasi matter-of-fact procedure for the bites, however. The flesh is cut away around the wound or gashed to the bone. It is then wrapped with a fresh snake skin. Lo'lŏklĭs (Pat Kane's father) saved his sister in this fashion, a rattler having struck her instep. She recovered immediately. No tourniquet is used. Men tie the rattles of snakes they kill to their hair, women do not.

755

There is a flat-topped mountain called seolŏpgĭs, probably that southwest of Wocus bay on the western side of Klamath lake, on which is a pond where persons ailing from skin trouble and other illnesses are brought. They are laid in the pond so that the water bugs may eat the disease.

A shaman's treatment for sore eyes described to Gatschet is putting a mixture of charcoal into the eyes, together with a louse "to make it eat up the protruding portion of the sore eye."[184]

It is desirable to record other medical practices here although no shaman is involved. The cautery is in frequent use; all my informants have deep burns on the temples or arms. Two or more sagebrush pellets (sĭklŏ'kiŭs) are lighted and placed on the spot that pains. For rheumatism, for example, they are placed beside the

[184] *Op. cit.*, 1:71–72.

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Coville noted the use of lodge-pole pine pitch as a remedy for sore eyes, a very small fragment being placed inside the lid, and the leaves of a shrub (ba-bäk'-bak-lha'-näm, *Eriogonum stellatum* Benth.) placed on burns to protect the surface from the air. He also observed that the roots of buck-brush (chäk'-lō, *Kunzia tridentata*), steeped in water, is frequently drunk as a remedy for coughs and other lung and bronchial troubles. The dry ripe bitter fruits of the same, mashed in cold water, are sometimes drunk as an emetic. Cascara (sär'-um-bäk-ish, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC.) is made into a tea for an emetic; foliage, twigs, bark, and berries are all used. Wild parsnip roots (pöd'-chō, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) are used medicinally. "In medicine a decoction of the herbage [of sage-brush (ghät or bōl'-whē, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.)] is used internally to check diarrhea, externally as an eyewash, while the mashed herbage is used as a substitute for liniment." The roots of stä'-mäk (*Wyethia mollis* Gray) are mashed and used as a poultice for swellings. The mashed herbage of wäl'-wäl (*Chondrophora nauseosa* (Pursh) Britton), aromatic and resinous, is used to raise blisters. A poultice of the mashed leaves of wä'-mi (*Chrysothamnus bloomeri* (Gray) Greene and related shrubs), similar in principle to the preceding, is used for the same purpose.[186]

## THE SONGS

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With the aid of the large body of texts recorded by Gatschet it is possible to point out some general features of the shamanistic songs.

The form of the song is as fixed as its subject. In the first place, the burden of a song is always brief and always invariably consists of words with meaning, not syllables inserted for euphony's sake. If Gatschet's translations are to be trusted, the great preponderance of the songs are in the first person, the spirit speaking. I doubt it. My knowledge of Klamath is very limited but I suspect that such a phrase as Ké-utchish ai nû shuí'sh gî which he renders "I am the gray wolf magic song" is as likely to mean "The wolf is my spirit." A very large number of songs mention the spirit by name and are otherwise not especially esoteric but easily intelligible to one with only a slight knowledge of Klamath beliefs.

Certain song patterns recur with some frequency in Gatschet's collection. Four of these have simple forms.

[186] Coville, Notes, 80, 95, 98, 100, 102, 105, 106.

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• 766

1. ———— ai nû shuĭ'sh gĭ
I am the (spirit's) magic song [or the ———— is my spirit].
2. ———— gé-u hû mû'luash
The ———— is my medicine object.
3. ———— gé-u népk
———— is the disease I bring.
4. ———— gé-u nā'paks
———— is my disease.

In these the appropriate name of the spirit, bit of paraphernalia, or disease is mentioned. There is a slight variability in the grammatical form, but ignoring this we find that these four patterns occur in a total of 145 songs, fifteen, seven, six, and three times respectively.[187]

Another common form has a second phrase practically identical with the first, and, if not a mere repetition, referring to an associated idea or characteristic. This scheme occurs twenty times in the collection. An example is

tunépni gé-u wélwash gĭ
páltko gé-u wélwash gĭ
I have five springs and (all) my springs are dry (p. 137, no. 46).

These five patterns make up a third of the whole collection.

533

The number of songs seems well-nigh boundless. The possibilities for inventing new ones are limited only by the number of spirits and all their parts and characteristics. Not only does one get this impression from Gatschet's array, but my own informants gave enough to indicate that it would require great effort to exhaust the supply. At the same time it is clear that once a song had been invented its form is fixed; it is known as so-and-so's song. It is not only that such a shaman has a song about the weasel, for example, but it is a particular song, and my informants would not hazard it unless they knew it.

The subjects of the songs are not only the anthropomorphic beings, spirits of animals, birds, etc., listed above, and others of the same sort, but Gatschet's informant listed others: gust of wind, sleet, mock sun (parhelion), cliff, rocks of various sorts and positions, springs, floating ice, smallpox and various pains, hunger, pond-lily seed and various plants, canoes and other objects, parts of the house, dress, and paint. This is a wide array of subjects, but the same omissions occur that I have noted above: the cats, deer, and most fish, while rodents and song birds hardly appear in Gatschet's collection. Not only do the songs refer directly to the animals but to their parts,

[187] It should be noted that these occur randomly throughout the songs which Gatschet lists in the haphazard order he obtained them. Four informants were involved, so we may be sure that this recurrence of the same forms is not due to repetition on the part of a single informant.

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533 I feel that many of his translations are far from the point, but I do
114 not know enough to correct them. The numbers in parentheses refer to the page and number in Gatschet's work.

539 *Fire dance (wa'hla) songs!*
In flames I am enveloped (154, 8).
I am now wrapped in flames (166, 26).

*Songs referring to various items of the shaman's outfit (mä'lwas).*
This scoop is my instrument, that tool used on the lake[189] (167, 34).
This is my medicine arrow (164, 3).
The pipe is my instrument, that tool used for tobacco[190] (167, 33).
I the shaman's pole [wa"las] am shaking to and fro (170, 66).
Planks [covering the lodge?] are rattling (155, 18).
This is my song, that of the sweat-lodge stick-hole[191] (168, 45).
So looks the yellowhammer medicine-decoration;
The otter is my equipment; the otter skin neckband is my equipment (167, 30).
I the neckband am medicine-equipment; I the neckband am a spirit [or song] (168, 40).
Thus I walk when I tie up the hair (165, 9).
I will pull a rope from my entrails[192] (165, 11).

*Songs referring to anthropomorphic spirits.*
I the shai'kish [teakia'k] tramp[193] (169, 52).
Teakia'k is my song [or spirit]; thunder is my song [or spirit] (169, 53).
I the ghost lean on a staff (168, 38).
Bones only I rattle (157, 44).
I the woman am painted black on the body[194] (158, 51).
My dew claws are rattling (166, 17).
Dew claws are my medicine-outfit[195] (166, 21).
In quill-fringed buck-skin dressed (154, 6).
I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellow-hammer and devour them (154, 10).
Quick! make ye eyes for me! (154, 11).
In the fog I am straying blind; all over the earth I am wandering[196] (157, 40).

[189] Or the lake is my instrument.

[190] Or tobacco is my instrument.

[191] I do not know what Gatschet means by the "stick-hole."

[755] [192] "Feigning to draw a rope or string from their posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear" (Gatschet, 1:171). I was not told of this and it sounds more like a shamanistic trick than a curing practice.

[114] [193] Gatschet says "shai'kish is another name given to the teh'akiuka" and this is a "song of a gray aquatic fowl, called teh'akiuka." The following song, wherein he translates ta'akiag as little boy clearly indicates that the reference here is to Teakia'k, the little boy spirit which lives in water.

[194] Gatschet implies that this refers to a woman dancer, but it is as likely that it is a woman spirit.

[114] [195] Gatschet says of these two songs "Conjurer's rattles are made of deer's claws" and "this song of a female conjurer or 'doctress' . . . ." (1: 172). But deer-claw rattles are used only in a girl's puberty dance; shamans use none at all. I interpret these songs to be those of a woman spirit, like the one which [756] precedes them and perhaps the one to follow.

[534] [196] The first two of these three songs are those of "the blind medicine-girl" according to Gatschet and the third that of "the blind girl." I assume a spirit is referred to.

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789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wĭ'sĭŋk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and
841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in
[765] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"ĭlkŭt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komă'-ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

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825 Some beliefs concern the nature of wild animals. The "cat" (da'slats, *Bassariscus* sp.) kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks. The mountain lion is very dangerous; it is afraid only of fire. One cannot escape it by climbing into a small tree, because the lion will dig it up. When bears fight, the female is always victor. She always buries the male. The grizzly bear during his hibernation sleeps a month on each side alternately. "I do not know who watched them," my informant remarked. The grizzly is a notorious thief, breaking into the winter stores buried near the villages. But to call him that is dangerous, for he then pursues you. The chipmunk or ground squirrel (ts!ĭl'as) hibernates like a bear from November until the spring, they believe. When boys shoot at this animal it changes into a frog.

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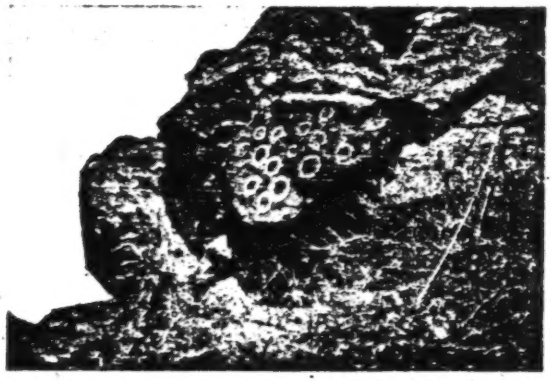

Fig. 9. Pictographs on the eastern side of Klamath lake.

824 Elder is supposed to grow on cremation piles; perhaps it does.

212 The Klamath do not make pictographs. There are however a few
• 756 in their country, said to have been made by Kĕmŭ'kŭmps, the culture
973 hero. They refer to them as shaman's mu'lwas, paraphernalia or, better, objects pertaining to a shaman. They are repainted from time to time by old men, "who work for a shaman," by which my informant may have meant shaman's interpreters. They are all of simple
212 form. My informants knew of only two pictographs (sŭ'malo'ta) in the whole Klamath country. Those on a rock slide on the eastern shore of Klamath lake south of Modoc point are shown in figure 9. This is near the former fishing village Iulă'u (47). There are a dozen circles in white paint, the largest four or five inches in diameter.

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114 lodges is curious. "It [a Klamath marsh village] was composed of
342 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents
[361] built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. . . . . Reached Indian village of five huts, hut large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defense against arrows but not balls."[368] Frémont notes "they were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams." At another place "the huts . . . . were made of tall rushes and willows."[369]

342 There is considerable variation in the size of houses, even those of
184 one type. Earth-lodges range in diameter from twelve to thirty feet or more, the larger accommodating several families. The largest pit I saw measured thirty-five feet in diameter. The largest earth-lodges are invariably those of shamans, larger even that those of chiefs. This is not only the statement of my several informants, but on every site
[756] I visited the largest pits were pointed out to me as the former resi-
[622] dences of shamans. The shaman's lodge, to be sure, houses the winter performances, but this also implies that shamans are the wealthiest individuals, or were so at least before the ascendancy of the chiefs during the last century. Winter houses are commonly larger than the corresponding summer mat-covered forms.

342 The semi-subterranean earth-lodge is erected over a shallow pit (sloko'ps). This is commonly but knee deep, but the thirty-five-foot pit mentioned above had been excavated waist deep or even more. All the clearly defined house pits that I saw were circular, but I got the impression from one informant that the house might be somewhat squared. This is probably the case only with the summer mat-lodge: wu'kĕ'plōḳs. The circle is not measured in any way. The pit is dug with digging sticks, the earth thrown back all around the excavation with storage baskets (tlūḳs) or slabs of pine bark.

The roof has the form of a truncated, wedge-shaped cone, resting as it does on the circular periphery of the pit but with its upper truncated surface an elongated rectangle. The main frame is formed by four central posts, set to form the corners of this rectangle.[370] The tops of these are connected by stringers. Poles extending obliquely

[368] Elliott, The Ogden Journals, 210.

[369] Frémont, Narrative, 122; Memoirs, 494.

[417] [370] Barrett implies a single center post ("climbs down . . . . by means of steps cut into the center pole itself," p. 244), but this was denied by my informants.

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nearly vertical and protrudes considerably above the roof level. Ladders are never made of a log with holes cut through it, nor were the central posts notched for this purpose.[373]

The rough planks used in roofing the structure are made by splitting hollow logs with elk-horn wedges. These are driven with a hardwood club, oak, or mountain mahogany. Every man has three or four such wedges; axes are wholly unknown and stone mauls not used. Obviously such timbers cannot compare with the broad planks of the Northwest peoples, but are rather of the crude Yurok type. Procuring the planks is quite a little expedition. They go in four to six canoes, spending a whole day splitting enough for a single house. The people of the du'kwa settlements at the mouth of Williamson river, for instance, cross Klamath lake to its timbered western shore for their supply.

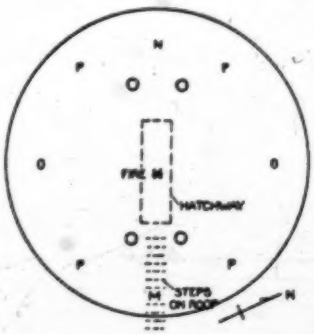


Fig. 19. Named parts of the house.

The several parts of the house interior as set off by the central posts are named. That portion at the front of the house directly under the outside steps is called stĕ'kis (*M*, fig. 19); the opposite end, tka'lŭm (*N*). These spaces are used for storage. The sides of the interior (*O*) are la'lɛstal and the corner sections (*P*) are stc!oka'ctal. These, the living quarters, are preferable to the end spaces presumably because the narrowness of the hatchway yields a greater extent of roof cover on each side, thus affording greater protection. The sleeping quarters of shamans are on the northern side of the lodges, hence I assume that this segment is always occupied by the head of the household. The shaman dances principally on this side of the central area.

[373] Compare Barrett, 244.

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used;[373] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped half-way up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope (pĕk'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat are dried on racks near-by.

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces, snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and animal skins about the interior. A wooden image and a stuffed crane skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above the shaman's bed. Houses are not given individual names, Yurok fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lūks) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway. Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log-cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome-shaped house (sti'nă'c) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream, had its cooking lodge close to the bank. All the women of the household prepare their food together, even where several families have joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

[373] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

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[95c]
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[177]

The familiar triangular flaps below the neck in Plains shirts are lacking. Shamans alone paint their shirts, others who attempt it would be poisoned by them. The designs are spots, circles, and lines, not pictures. While I do not know the character of these designs, this suggests the protective shirts of the Ghost dance of 1890. Inasmuch as we must assume that the shirt reached the Klamath from the east, and it is possible that Plains influences are quite recent, it is possible that the shirt, or at least its decoration, came only in Ghost dance days. Nor are shirts worn at all times; they are too valuable, "they might wear out"; which represents their unusualness in the view of the Klamath.

Breechclouts (hacwi'skis) are made of buckskin, and nothing else. They are worn by women too, but not with the buckskin dress. It seems that the flaps which hang over the belt are short, for they are said to be long only if the skin happened to be long. The belt is only a thin string, presumably a leather thong, for poor people make it of the soft bark of the tule.

[184]

Men's leggings are thigh-length or calf-length (called respectively snasni'ks and midē's);[880] women wear only the latter. These are of buckskin or fur, but poor people make them of tules. Barrett illustrates one of the latter sort made in twined technique. The full-length leggings are tied to the belt at one point, the hips. In a photograph shown me, little deer dew claws were hung pendant from the front of the leggings just below the knees.

Moccasins are worn at all times by the men, at home or when traveling, whereas women sometimes go barefoot at home in the summer. For the most part, moccasins are woven of tule or swamp grass; very few are made of skin. Barrett observes that the buckskin moccasins are for summer wear, the winter ones of tule.[881] This is very probably the case, as the tule affair is intended primarily to hold a layer of dry grass next the foot.

Tule moccasins (wipgá') are made in open twine. The fabric is brought together over the toe, but is quite without a heel. A cord laced through the loops along each side draws it up around the foot. They resemble those of the Paviotso.[882] For traveling they make moccasins of this type of swamp grass, which is stronger than tule; those for home use are of tule and bear decorations.

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[171]
[531]

[880] Gatschet gives mitash, mitas, from Chinook jargon mimdash, derived from French mitasse (2:221).

[881] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17, 19.

[882] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 218, fig. 5b, c.

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291 177 hood of my elderly informant. This is a simple one-piece affair, shown diagrammatically in figure 21*b*. The upper is cut to form a long tongue. It is sewn along the toe and one side, and up the heel.[365]

481 Snowshoes may be conveniently described at this place. The snowshoe (ni') is the circular Californian form; a hoop of tough service berry wood, about twelve inches long by six wide.[366] Within the hoop is a net of thongs on which the foot is placed; tie strings are drawn up about the ankle. My woman informant drew a sketch showing five parallel longitudinal thongs crossed transversely by five others, [114] also parallel, thus forming a simple rectangular web. This may well have been merely diagrammatic, since five is the pattern number. Kroeber illustrates a more intricate pattern of webbing, a central lozenge filled by transverse lashings and connected with the frame by others.[367] Barrett illustrates a snowshoe with still a third style of web. This seems to be a single longitudinal strip of skin, crossed by three others.[368] Such shoes are also used when wading in the marshes.

291 Mittens (wăkă'pks) of coyote or other fur are worn in cold weather, possibly by men alone. They are also used for protection in war. [714] These are sock-like, without fingers, and of arm or elbow length. A muffler (sau'kaks) is also made of skin.

291 The woman's skin dress (goke) is the long woman's garment of the Plains tribes, completely covering the body to the mid-calf. 177 Unlike the corresponding man's shirt, these are worn most of the time, especially in winter. In summer the lighter unbeaded dresses are [535] used. This is not essentially a dance costume, although worn at the war and scalp dances. But these are held outdoors at night; and [756] during the shaman's dances in the earth-lodge, the fringed skirt only is worn because of the great heat. It is possible, of course, that this is a rationalization of etiquette, for if the shaman's dance is older than the forms of war and scalp dance now in use, there may be an association of the older fringed skirt with one and the newer skin dress with the other. There can be little doubt that the fringed skirt is the antecedent form. Plains influences appear to be recent, and

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[365] This has been redrawn from a sketch made by my informant. On the Yakima reservation moccasins of this type have a tab at the heel, which my informant may have omitted.

[366] Coville (Notes, 94) states that "the frames of snowshoes are usually made of willow wood. The mesh in old times was commonly made of the Rocky Mountain flax, *Linum lewisii*, less commonly of nettle fiber, *Urtica breweri*."

[367] Handbook, fig. 68*a*; evidently taken from Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 215.

[368] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

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K 301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant, is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus, or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is K [436] no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short, but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps K [721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were [439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and [177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of [174] origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia. The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down the Klamath river.[399]

K [789] Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists so that they will swim well.

K 302 Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events, but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use, [756] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to [822] war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to K [317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mixture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.
[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

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177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period, 535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war 534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the 174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the 648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification 177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses [556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans. [622] The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth. [721] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

[567] It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic 174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis- 177 tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kinship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may [756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch [622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly [619] southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive- 101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on 105 the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau, to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some northwestern influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

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## THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

105 However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else.

776 The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may be briefly recapitulated. There are a host of weakly defined but sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthropomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all 787 things difficult. Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involuntarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem successful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the [754] possession of a greater number of powers. It is better to make the distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of [881] life, although usually at puberty. The most propitious times in later [765] life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an immediate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks, combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song, that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed

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787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his 756 spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close [372] as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure con- 755 sists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by 756 comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

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What is unique, however, is the peculiar conjunction of the elements affected by them. Even the closely related Modoc differ, to judge by what little we know of them.

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By way of orientation it is desirable to survey the situation north and south.[433]

Among the Kwakiutl the guardian spirit is inextricably linked with the hereditary caste system. Rights to a particular guardian are fixed by inheritance, so that the spirits function essentially as badges of clan rank and secret society affiliation. Hence they are few in number. Apart from this, they have definite mythological character, unlike the bird and animal spirits and the few anthropomorphic supernaturals of the Klamath. Acquisition of a guardian is not the relatively random quest of the Klamath, but is definitely fixed with relation to the midwinter ceremonial. The novice, a lad, is sent at this period under the tutelage of an old woman in quest of the hereditary guardian. He returns to the village so strongly imbued with power as to be of danger to himself and others, hence the essential of the ensuing performance is to reduce his ecstasy to a normal state. A potlatch is offered on his behalf. Such individuals, men or women, may become shamans in this manner; only the dances they perform on their return apparently differ from the ancestral dance forms. In a Kwakiutl tale, a man wandering in the woods is initiated by the animals. On his return his overwhelming power is found dangerous and is dulled by contamination with menstruants.[433] During the midwinter sacred period, spirit repossession is general and at the ceremonies all are impelled to display their hereditary spirit songs and dances. The grouping at this time of those having the same spirits is of a piece with the grouping by clans during the remainder of the year. Both groupings rest essentially on names acquired in the one instance from spirits, in the other by clan inheritance, names throughout giving rank and privilege.[434]

The Kwakiutl form of quest, its relation to the midwinter ceremonies, and its social significance are peculiarities which do not prevail south of Vancouver island. Various elements of this complex, however, are found in the area to the south, such as the secret societies as far as the Quinault on the Washington coast, and the winter dance

[433] See also the summaries of Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 10 f.

[433] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 733–749.

[434] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 393 f., 418 f., 501.

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period even to the Klamath. But this interrelation of spirit quest and secret society ritual, with the social grouping that rests on it, is lacking. The Kwakiutl must be looked on as a highly specialized form of the spirit quest-shamanistic complex, of which the more normal forms, in the sense that they are less differentiated and widely distributed, are found in western Washington and the interior.

As an example of the more common form, I will present that of the Thompson. The Thompson complex[428] is more nearly that of the Klamath but is even simpler. The vision quest, which takes place at puberty, is essentially the prerogative of boys, although girls may obtain some slight powers. Hence shamans are men and but few women. The vision is sought in the mountains where the boy remains praying, dancing, running about, and fasting. His training does not end with the vision, but continues after power has been acquired, the whole being directed toward magical training for adult life. In fact the powers bestowed by the spirits are specifically for particular professions and arts. The spirits are legion: natural phenomena, animals, birds, and a random collection of objects. The seeker sometimes receives power from the same spirit as his father and shamans sometimes directly inherit their powers. It does not appear that the shaman novice establishes himself by a performance of fixed kind, nor do the shamanistic seances, though they include feats like those of the Klamath, occur only in midwinter.

Shamanism in the area to the east of the Thompson must be of this type, and in the Basin southeast it is clearly so.

South of the Klamath the shamanistic complex takes quite another turn. In California power is not ordinarily sought, hence the blessing descends on the few, the shamans, and for the mass there is nothing. This is an about-face from the situation in Oregon and northward, or in the Plains. In other words, power is a thing that comes involuntarily. Further, the form of the complex has in the northern half of California two quite distinct phrasings.

In northwestern California the person destined to be a shaman is visited in a dream by a spirit or ancestor who inserts the power in his body. This power or "pain" is animate, has personality, and is conceptualized as a small spindle-shaped object. Such "pains" are disease objects, yet their possession by shamans gives the power to remove other malignant "pains" from a patient. Accordingly the shaman-to-be is made ill by the "pain" he has received, until he is

[428] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 317 f.

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restored by an established shaman and learns to control the gift. The dance in which this takes place is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation.[456]

For example, the Yurok novice dreams of a dead person putting a "pain" in her body. (In northwestern California, shamans are most frequently women.) A dance is made for her, when under the direction of established shamans, she withdraws the "pain" and having thus shown control of it, swallows it again. After a brief dance in the mountains, this rite is repeated and followed by one around a hot fire to further gain control of her "pains."[457]

The northwest California complex has its ramifications as far north as the Wishram on the Columbia and southeastward to the Southern Maidu. The novice dance is found over this whole area, although in the north being rather a demonstration of power than an occasion for acquiring control of it. The concept of the "pains" as embodiments of power or agents of disease extends eastward across the state. Yet the general aspects of shamanism in northeastern California are appreciably like those of the Klamath and Thompson.

The second form of shamanistic complex is central Californian. Here individual shamanism is overshadowed by group activities of the Kuksu cult ceremonies which are shamanistic at bottom. Some distinction is made between the sucking shaman, who cures in the common manner, and the outfit shaman, whose ability is, rather, clairvoyant. This distinction is also made to the northwest but is by no means impressive. The outfit shaman is usually the heritor of the necessary paraphernalia from a parent or brother who instructs him in their use. His power clearly lies in the objects themselves. On the other hand, the sucking shaman obtains his by a visitation in a dream. Not only are central Californian shamans overshadowed by Kuksu impersonators, to whom has accrued all elaborate display, but the shamanistic complex proper is strongly infiltrated from the northwest.

There is in California at large some further specialization among shamans beyond those who cure. Weather-control shamans seem most clearly differentiated in south-central California, according to Kroeber. The Klamath fall in with the majority of peoples beyond this focus in looking on weather control as only a somewhat specialized function of any shaman. Similarly with rattlesnake shamans, who are general in California save in the northwest. Bear shamans, found in all but peripheral California, are not known to the Klamath.

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[456] Handbook, 882.
[457] *Op. cit.*, 63.

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From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath, but the dances as such are absent.

The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest followed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain" objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion; the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia is unknown here.

The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior type.

The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among

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the people at large as well as the shamans. Inasmuch as both these features are northwestern and non-Californian, they must be looked on as influences from the north.

The following sections attempt to substantiate these generalizations.

### *Spirits*

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Those spirits of which the Klamath seek power are conceived as animals, birds, reptiles, fish, sometimes as natural phenomena, and in a few instances as supernaturals, anthropomorphic and akin to the characters of their mythology. Their number is indefinitely large. Each may be said to constitute a genus of spirits; e.g., "the Coyote spirit" is properly a group of coyote spirits. Members of the class are not singled out for individualization.

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The spirits of other tribes of the northwestern sector are of the same type. All the interior tribes on into California and all others of Oregon for whom we have information hold to this conception: Thompson, Lillooet, Wishram, Nez Percé, Takelma, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu, and Wintun. There are undoubtedly differences among them in the type of spirit most frequently sought; thus, natural phenomena bulk larger in the Thompson mind. Further, objects, some as trivial as the nipple of a gun, figure as spirits among the Thompson, Lillooet, Snohomish, Nisqually, Nez Percé, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[428]

A concept of a different sort holds sway on the coast from Vancouver island to the Columbia river. There the principal spirits are supernaturals of mythological character. These are necessarily restricted in numbers since they are highly individualized, and correlatively the powers they bestow are particularized. Where information is available, these creatures are credited, as among the Klallam, with a social existence of human pattern: they live in houses, are provided with servants, and travel in canoes. This is the predominating spirit concept among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. The slight information on Chinook spirits suggests supernaturals of the same sort. This is not to deny that animals and birds figure among the Klallam and Puget Sound Salish, and that among the Quinault there are a few bird spirits that retain their

[428] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 354; The Lillooet, 283; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 35; Mescham, Wi-ne-ma, 130 (skins and feathers of spirits); Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356.

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remarked their presence in the mythology of various Shoshonean groups (Western Mono, Northern Paiute of central Oregon, Northern Shoshoni, and Serrano), pointing out their absence in typical central Californian groups.[483] But they are not confined to Shoshoneans: the Yurok believe in dwarf-like spirits that haunt overgrown spots in the creeks, the Hupa speak of little beings resembling men in the water in remote places, and the foothill group of Northern Maidu of one-legged dwarfs found in or about water.[484] So far as these data go, the concept is largely north Californian and Basin in distribution.

Klamath Dwarf-Old-Woman, who figures in one form as a rock on Mount Pitt, may be identifiable with Takelma Rock Old Woman, associated with a rock north of Rogue river.[484]

### *Inheritance of Spirit Power*

On the Northwest Coast proper there is a tendency to fixed inheritance of experiences with ancestral guardians. Among the Tlingit, e.g., there is some tendency for men to be blessed by spirits according to their clan affiliations; the spirits descending from uncle to nephew. Among the Kwakiutl, inheritance is rigidly fixed, for a youth expects to find only those spirits that gave powers to his clan.[485]

Something of this prevails southward but in dilute form. A Quinault seeks the spirit his ancestor acquired, and we are told that the guardians of the Chinook are hereditary, like the Kwakiutl. A Nootka may also inherit a spirit with whom an ancestor had an experience.[486] The southern Puget Sound Salish hold that human social organization is reflected among the spirits; that a powerful spirit would appear only to a man of high rank. While this does not define the system as one of strict inheritance, it must approximate this because both the number of persons of high rank and of powerful spirits is small.

Inheritance of a guardian and of the particular guardian thus prevails generally north of the Columbia river. Elsewhere inheritance is present but in less fixed form. There is for the Thompson seeker

[483] Gifford, Western Mono Myths, 304; Marsden, 183; Lowie, Northern Shoshone, 234; Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297.

[484] Kroeber, Handbook, 67; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 265.

[484] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 45.

[485] Swanton, 465; Boas, Secret Societies and Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 393, 418.

[486] Boas, *op. cit.*, 393; Sapir, Vancouver Island Indians, 593.

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* 171 • 756 787 the possibility of being visited by the spirit his father had met. Inheritance is apparently common among the Nez Percé; at least shamans inherited their status and one could hardly become a shaman save through inheritance. As the number of spirits that give shamanistic powers is small, it seems probable that the particular spirit is frequently inherited, although it is not so stated. Comparable to this, anyone among the southern Puget Sound Salish might involuntarily receive a blessing from a spirit acquired earlier by an ancestor. For instance, if one's forebear had been a great shaman there was a predisposition to acquire a shamanistic spirit. Rather different from these cases is the case of the Klallam shaman who, dying, may will some of his spirits to a younger man, yet it reflects the tendency toward transmission in this area.[427]

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* 171 756 787 Inheritance occurs again in northern California, where children of shamans are rather automatically visited by their fathers' spirits. (It must be borne in mind that in this region acquisition of powers sets off shamans from the laity, who do not ordinarily acquire them.) It is intelligible why inheritance does not appear in northwestern California, where a shaman is made, not by the visitation of spirits, but by the insertion of "pains" by established members of the craft. The distribution of inheritance is in the interior: Klamath, Shasta, Chimariko, Pomo, Southwestern Wintun, Maidu, and Paviotso. Inheritance does not appear again, so far as present data show, in all of central and southern California until the Akwa'ala[428] are reached. Inheritance of position is by no means the only way one becomes a shaman even among these north Californian peoples, and the visitation by spirits of one's father is quite limited among them. In other words, there is here little of the rigidity of inheritance known in the northwestern sector.

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* 171 756 787 Shasta and Northeastern Maidu show the closest approximation to the northwest; if the parent is a shaman, the child becomes one, and the particular spirits are heriditary guardians of the family for generations. Among Northeastern Maidu the succession is inevitable, among Shasta there is some latitude. The Klamath situation resembles the Shasta: a shaman's child is the involuntary recipient of his father's spirits, which he may or may not accept. There is nothing to show that the same spirits continue with successive generations.[429]

[427] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 320; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 297; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247, 256.

[428] Gifford-Lowie, Notes on the Akwa'ala, 345.

[429] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274, 275; Shasta, 471, 477.

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The Sacramento Valley Maidu hold that inheritance is not necessary, while the foothill group of the same people have a greater tendency to inheritance. Among the Chimariko, shamans similarly may or may not inherit their positions. The Paviotso shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son.. In these cases heredity is simply one way of achieving shaman's status.[440]

In this second group of cases it seems that susceptibility to experience with spirits is heritable, if not the inheritance of powers from specific spirits, but in a third group the inheritance is that of position and paraphernalia alone. That is, the individual Pomo, or at least the Northern and Eastern Pomo, and the Southeastern Wintun shaman instructs his son, brother, or some other relative and delivers to him amulets and other objects necessary to him as successor. Among the Pomo this is the manner in which "outfit doctors," not "dreaming or sucking doctors," are made.[441] This affiliates with the general habit of instruction of shamans and secret society members in this quarter, where in general the hereditary element is absent.

It seems quite uncertain whether the northern Californian cases as a whole are linked historically with the northwest. Possibly they are, since the hereditary element is lacking in more southerly California. But as the data stand there is a hiatus of distribution in Oregon. On the other hand, there are few Oregonian data save for the non-hereditary Takelma. It seems significant, however, that the Wishram did not mention inheritance in this connection to either Dr. Sapir or myself.

### *The Power Quest*

In a discussion of the vision in the Plains, Benedict points out that there is there a distinction between visions (quests in my terminology) from which sanctions are received, such as the success of a projected war party, and those by which a guardian is acquired. The former are of more frequent occurrence in the life of each individual.[442] Among the Klamath every quest that is successful brings power that abides, not a sanction for a particular project. Every quest corresponds to the specific guardian quest of the Plains, though a guardian in the sense of a familiar is not acquired. So far as

[440] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, 269; Chimariko, 303; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 294.

[441] Freeland, Pomo Doctors, 59; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 320; Kroeber, Handbook, 361.

[442] The Vision in Plains Culture, 12 f.

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guardians or familiars can be spoken of, they pertain to shamans alone, since they alone conjure up their familiars to their aid. But theoretically, every Klamath who has had an experience could call on his spirit for aid.

The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked for assistance (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts and professions or for success and wealth.

Accordingly, shamans are differentiated as a class more by their acts and the possession of powers to perform the shamanistic arts, than by the unique possession of helpers. This statement does not apply, however, to California, for there this is precisely the difference between shamans and laity.

The Klamath deliberately seek power by self-isolation and mortifying acts. Their attitude is that it is to be had by a voluntary quest, save in those rare instances which may be described as inheritance and in occasional involuntary dreams.

The terms quest, vision, and dream have commonly been used as though they were fully interchangeable. It is preferable to distinguish the voluntary quest and the involuntary acquisition of power; to confine the term vision to sensory experiences including seeing and hearing a spirit, and the dream to its everyday significance. These are, to be sure, by no means mutually exclusive.

The quest and the involuntary dream as sources of power have different distributions in western America. The quest is general over eastern North America and in the Plains. But as Kroeber has pointed out for California and Benedict for the Southwest the deliberate quest is absent and its place is usually taken, so far as individual acquisition of power is concerned, by the dream.[113] I will attempt to define their respective areas of distribution somewhat more precisely.

From this point of view a distinction must be made between the eastern and western sections of the Southwestern area. Personal powers figure only in a minor way among the Pueblos, where priestly craft functions in place of shamanism. Yet at Laguna and Cochiti, at least, there is some occasional questing for powers in isolated spots.

[113] Kroeber, Religion of Indians of California, 327 f.; Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 36 f.

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At the same time, among the western Apache, who have shamanism full-fledged, those who do not become shamans by the instruction of established practitioners, seek power in the same way.[444]

West of the Apache the dream is the source of power: this is known at least for Havasupai and Pima. Havasupai shamans alone have familiars, which they acquire involuntarily in dreams, and even when they inherit the power it seems necessary that they dream. Pima shamans become such generally by heredity, or by being bitten by a rattlesnake, but they may also have persistent dreams in which they acquire power. Russell makes it clear that this involves no deliberate quest.[445]

Dreaming appears with the same function among the Shivwits, hence may have been general among other Southern Paiute. Prior to the introduction of the Sun Dance among the Southern Ute about 1900, shamans got their powers in dreams without fasting; since then they deliberately seek power in the Sun Dance.[446]

Dreams are the source of supernatural sanctions on the lower Colorado and in southern California alike, despite the difference of setting in the two areas. Mohave, Yuma, Akwa'ala, and Desert Cahuilla shamans derive their powers by dreaming of the great mythological characters, sometimes under the stimulation of jimsonweed, but not as part of adolescence rites. The Cahuilla, indeed, hold the boys' rite but it is reasonably clear that jimsonweed drinking at this, or at other times, does not furnish the setting for acquisition of power. On the other hand the boys' rites provide the proper setting for a majority of southern Californian peoples: the narcotic of jimson weed causing sensory disturbances which are interpreted as dreams of spirit beings, prevailingly animal in character. This is known for both Southern and Northern Diegueño, Luiseño, Juaneño, Kawaiisu, and may be inferred for others. The Kawaiisu, unlike their neighbors, administer jimsonweed regularly to girls as well as boys and with the same end in view. Inasmuch as the candidates for these rites do not present themselves but are selected, we have here a common basis of involuntary dreaming for the region as a whole. This is not to deny that the phrasing of the experience itself is markedly

[444] Benedict, *op. cit.*, 39; Goldfrank, Organization of Cochiti, 58; Bourke, Medicine Men, 453.

[445] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 276 *f.*; Russell, 257.

[446] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 291.

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different among Mohave-Yuma, Akwa'ala-Cahuilla, and the westerly southern Californians.[447]

The quest on the other hand is characteristic of the northwest. It is of course voluntary and the looked-for response probably always takes the form of a vision. The Klamath are a partial exception, which I will discuss later. The quest has been noted among all tribes for whom there is information: Klamath, Takelma, Alsea, Tillamook, Chinook, Wishram, Quinault, Twana, Nisqually, Snohomish, and Klallam. It is at the bottom of the initiation practices of the Kwakiutl and Bella Coola. In the interior, it is characteristic of Thompson, probably Lillooet, Nez Percé, Chilcotin, and Tahltan.[448]

As these data stand the areas of distribution are quite distinct. The voluntary quest is characteristic of the northwest and the Plateau, as well as the Plains; the dream, involuntary in its occurrence, of the western section of the Southwest, southern California, and the southern Basin. On the border common to the two areas they occur concurrently, namely in northern California, southern Oregon, and the northern Basin.

In northern California the dream basis is clear for the Pomo and the Northern Maidu of the foothills, apart from Pomo shamans who are such by initiation alone.[449] There is a suggestion that the Wailaki are one with them.[450] All other groups have some kind of combination of dream and quest.

Northeastern Maidu and Yokuts hold dream and quest equivalents; the Yokuts stressing the quest in contradistinction to the Maidu. Sinkyone, Yuki, and the Sacramento valley group of Northern Maidu differ from them only in that their alternative to the deliberate quest is an involuntary waking experience.[451]

Of the Paviotso, Lowie remarks: "A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision."

[447] Kroeber, Handbook, 604, 640, 775 f., 783, 793; Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave, 279; Gifford-Lowie, Akwa'ala, 344–5, 347, 348; Hooper, Cahuilla, 334–5, 340; Spier, Southern Diegueño, 312 f.; Waterman, Religious Practices, 296; Du Bois, Religion of Luiseño, 80.

[448] Farrand, Alsea, 245; Boas, Tillamook, 5, Third Report, 10, Chinook Texts, 214; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674; Farrand, Chilcotin, 19; Emmons, Tahltan, 112.

[449] Freeland, Pomo Doctors, 58, 63, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269.

[450] "The Yuki state that the Wailaki shamans often dreamed of a spirit coyote" (Kroeber, Handbook, 154).

[451] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, 275, 278; Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 196–198, 514.

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This may mean only that the quest is undertaken and that the vision appears in a dream at that time, but I interpret it as meaning that both dreaming without a quest and the deliberate quest occurred among them. His description of the Wind River Shoshoni ideas, is, I think, more convincing as to the simultaneous existence of dreaming and the quest.[432]

Shaman candidates among Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta experience in dreams, but for the laity there are opportunities to acquire power of the quest type. "There are, however, [among the Shasta] one or two very simple ceremonials, whose purpose is merely to acquire luck. For example, on very dark rainy or windy nights, men go out alone, and naked, and walk all night, praying for luck, singing, seeing strange things pass them, and having strange voices calling. Or on very cold nights in the middle of winter, a man will go out just before dawn, and after praying for luck, will plunge into the river, and swim." "The [Hupa] men used to swim a certain course in the icy water [of Trinity river] and then lie on the frozen shore as long as possible that they might win great good luck." "A Yurok man who wishes to be brave and fierce . . . . goes at night to a lonely mountain pond, swims, and is then swallowed or taken below the surface by a monster."[433]

The combination occurring among Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, and Chimariko is most interesting. The regular Klamath formula is that the seeker may have his quest rewarded by a vision, but the power is not obtained at this time. It comes some nights later, when in a dream he hears the spirit's song. I am impressed by the fact that the quest experience and the dream are separated. Indeed the seeker may not have a vision at all. Further, dreams of the same sort, conveying power, come to one unsought. The Klamath notions seem to me most intelligible when considered as the amalgamation of the two kinds of experience. Those of the Northeastern Maidu are explicitly the same: a man on his lonely quest experiences the presence of spirits and on his return they appear to him in dreams. The Achomawi-Atsugewi case seems to be the same: "While he is bathing during the night, he may find something in the water, or may dream of it later when he takes a little sleep." Again the Chimariko seeker is visited in a series of dreams, which were "often the result of solitary visits to remote mountain lakes." Modoc

[432] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 294–296.

[433] Dixon, Shasta, 489; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 88; Kroeber, Handbook, 40, 68.

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ideas are appreciably close to those of the Shasta in that the novice has an involuntary seizure, apparently while at home, but following his inaugural dance, he goes to the mountains in quest of power.[484]

Corresponding to the absence of sharp distinctions between shaman and layman in the northwest, the quest is open to everyone throughout that area. Yet there are some differences with respect to sex. This is measurable in part by the relative number of men and women shamans.

Men are more frequently successful in acquiring power than women and are accordingly more often shamans among the Thompson, Klallam, Quinault, Snohomish, Nisqually, Wishram, and Klamath. The evidence is quite definite on this point. Among the Tillamook and Nez Percé both sexes obtained powers: it is conceivable that men predominated.

The statement that Takelma shamans are equally men and women is perhaps significant in view of the situation to the south. Shasta, Yurok, and Wiyot shamans are chiefly women, with but few men. Goddard merely mentions both men and women shamans among the Hupa, and Dixon among the Chimariko, but Kroeber implies that they were normally women.[485]

Elsewhere in California it seems that men predominated as shamans; specifically Achomawi, Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu and those of the foothills region, Yuki, and Salinan. In southern California, where the equivalent of the shaman is one who has had visions induced by jimsonweed, this situation holds even more stringently because the narcotic is rarely administered to girls. Yet in northeastern California the northwestern emphasis on feminine shamanism is reflected. Dixon observes of the Northeastern Maidu: "There were women shamans as well as men; the former being, however, more numerous in Big Meadows, where the Maidu come nearest in contact with the Achomawi, among whom women shamans were very numerous."[486] Angulo[487] states that their number was about equal among the Achomawi, which is not a contradiction of Dixon. This implies that the Achomawi-Atsugewi and Big Meadows Maidu were both influenced by Shasta custom. Elsewhere here (Yuki and Foothill Maidu) women were rarely shamans.

[484] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Notes on Achomawi and Atsugewi, 216; Chimariko, 303; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129–136.

[485] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 66; Dixon, Chimariko, 303; Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 137.

[486] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274.

[487] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 564.

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The Klamath deliberately seek power both in adolescence and in later life. In the discussion of the Plains vision referred to above, Benedict points out that it is there an affair of maturity and not of adolescence.[456] Everywhere in this area, on the other hand, the quest may take place in adolescence, at a time sometimes varying widely from actual puberty, and in the majority of tribes at any time in later life as well. This is consonant with the difference in the result accruing from the experience. This is as much characteristic of Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Modoc, for example, as it is of the Klamath. The absence of suitable specific data makes it difficult to judge how far this is true of others.

At least among the Wishram and Achomawi-Atsugewi there is a difference; power is sought in youth alone and should the seeker fail then, he has no opportunity in later life. Descriptively the Kwakiutl align with the Wishram, for the novices who acquire spirits at the winter ceremonial of the secret societies are adolescents. Powers are also acquired later but the few references indicate that this is not common. The situation is different, however, for the Kwakiutl does not freely seek the spirit, but automatically acquires it at a time fixed by the round of a predetermined social system. There is a suggestion that the Thompson, Lillooet (who are described as identical with the former), and Nez Percé have their experiences only at adolescence. The Tillamook evidence is equivocal: from the very brief account we learn only that a boy of twenty is sent out.

The situation is different in northern California because of the dream source of power in place of the quest. Nevertheless, this might have been restricted to adolescence, but that seems not to be the case. On the whole, data fail for the region, but our accounts read as though the shaman novices were always adult. To take the Shasta as an instance: it seems unlikely that the novices' experiences would occur to adolescent girls. Such at least is the impression, but we cannot be sure. The quest, open to the laity among Shasta, Yurok, and Hupa, is not restricted to any period in life.

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In southern California, where a shaman's career is initiated in the jimsonweed rites, this is an affair of adolescence.

[456] The Vision in Plains Culture, 3.

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behavior, and finally revealing it only at the point of death. These contrasting attitudes have different distributions. A number of Washington tribes align with the Wishram: the Puget Sound Salish does not reveal his experience until late in life, the Klallam and Nez Percé waits until the spirit dances are held, and there is a suggestion that the Chinook also maintains silence. Similar reticence crops up again in northeastern California: the Achomawi-Atsugewi never tells, the Sacramento Valley Maidu only as an old man.[464] Considering their geographic situation we might have expected similar reticence of the Klamath, but on the contrary they share the freedom of speech of the generality of Californians.

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### *The Novice's Performance*

It is obvious that there must always be an initial performance by a shaman to demonstrate his ability, such as a first cure. It does not follow, however, that this need be a performance of a special type, as it is among the Klamath.

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The Klamath novice waits for winter to prove his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The dance he then performs is much like those he will use in subsequent demonstrations of his power, but includes the demonstration of two feats; eating fire, and swallowing and disgorging arrowheads. He sings his spirit songs as he dances close to a huge fire, while an assistant calls on his spirits to help him perform the feats. It will be observed that this has nothing to do with curing.

An initiatory performance is by no means confined to the Klamath. Kroeber has previously pointed out that this is characteristic of northern California, centering in the northwest.[465] It has also a northward extension beyond the border of that state through western Oregon. Records are available for Wishram, Tillamook, Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, Tolowa, Yurok, Hupa, Chimariko, Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, the northerly Wintun, the Sacramento valley branch of the Northern Maidu, the Northeastern Maidu, and the Southern Maidu. There is no reason for supposing that it was wholly lacking among other western Oregon and northwest Californian groups, for most of whom there is meager information. It is apparently absent among

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[464] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 66; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Boas, Chinook Texts, 215; Dixon, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 267.

[465] Handbook, 852.

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Achomawi, Atsugewi, more southerly Pomo, Miwok, and Yokuts, and in the north among Quinault, Klallam, and the Puget Sound Salish, which sets limits on the south and north. It appears again, however, among the Cahuilla.

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The dance has by no means everywhere the same function or form. For the Klamath and Shasta it is merely a demonstration of power; the same is implied for the Modoc and in our very brief note on the Tillamook.[466] The Wishram case belongs to this category in part: the novice demonstrates his power to cure, but there is this difference, that he must first be restored from his seizure. That is, from the Shasta northward the inaugural dance is primarily a demonstration.

The inaugural dance has quite another purpose in northwestern California: it is to enable the novice to acquire control over his powers, in this case the rather material "pains," which correspond to the spirit powers of other tribes. The dance is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation. The novice is aided by qualified shamans to retain in his body and control the "pains," which up to this point make him ill as they do any layman. Prior to the dance, he receives instruction from older shamans. This type of performance is credited to Yurok, Tolowa, presumably Hupa (and Karok?), Chimariko, Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, northerly Wintun, Sacramento Valley and Northeastern Maidu, and the Southern Maidu.

There are then two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. Kroeber's designation of the dance as northwest Californian is not quite adequate in view of the Oregon data.

From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possessor "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. This is also described among a number of them as characteristic of the condition of the youth who has newly acquired a spirit. It is the essential point in the noviee's part in the winter ritual of the Kwakiutl and Quileute: he must be relieved of his superabundant power. Similarly, among the Klallam a boy who has received a strong power must remain away from home for some months until he has learned to control or dull it.[467] I do not know how widespread in western Washing-

[466] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 136; Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 10.
[467] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290.

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ton this idea is, but it crops up again among the Wishram. A lad who acquires a spirit is "sick"; a shaman is employed to relieve and restore him. This is one of the essentials of a Wishram novice shaman's inaugural dance. It must be noted that in all these instances the condition of the possessed is described in one way: he is "sick." This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort. It is altogether regrettable that there is no information on the coastal tribes of Washington and Oregon, since the similarity of the ideas suggests that there may have been a continuous distribution along the coast. At least in the interior, the "sickness" of the repossessed does not hold beyond the Wishram. Klamath and Shasta have the form of the recovery ceremony without the substance.

To turn to some comparisons of detail, the dance made by the Shasta immediately on the spirit seizure is not duplicated among the Klamath. When the Shasta novice revives, she dances and may be carried or swung over the fire. This is repeated on two nights following. At the last dance the spirit shoots a "pain" into her, which she masters, withdraws, and reinserts in her body. The later inaugural dance is, however, much like that of the Klamath. The novice waits until winter to demonstrate. This dance takes place in a dwelling just as among the Klamath. She dances and sings while an assistant calls on her spirits to help her.[488] What is lacking to complete the analogy are the tricks of legerdemain, but these among the Klamath are the stock in trade of all shamanistic performances and appear to be unknown to Shasta practice. There is just a possibility that the Klamath arrow-swallowing trick is related to the Shasta novice's demonstration of her ability to extract and replace the "pains," described as small clear objects pointed at each end. Another difference is that her dance is under the aegis of qualified shamans; a feature linking the Shasta with the typical north Californian performance.

The Modoc novice dance which Meacham described[489] is externally like that of the Shasta yet smacks of Klamath ideology. The spirit seizure takes place apparently at home. When this is manifested by hemorrhages, the novice is made to perform ten dances while an

[488] Dixon, Shasta, 475.

[489] Wi-ne-ma, 129–136. As the original is difficult of access, it is reprinted below in an appendix. Despite Meacham's naïveté and his obviously faulty knowledge of the Modoc tongue, as evidenced elsewhere in Wi-ne-ma, all his descriptions of Modoc life ring true.

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established shaman calls various spirits until the tutelary is discovered. This is repeated for five nights. The novice then goes to the mountains to seek further power. On his return he dances during a month, aided by others, to prepare for his profession. This terminates in another ceremony under the shaman's direction.

In the opposite direction the Wishram also have an inaugural dance for a shaman novice which, unlike these southern examples, occurs at any time he receives power. As in the Klamath affair, he performs in the characteristic manner of a shaman of his tribe, even demonstrating a cure. When he dances to call his spirits, others perform to help him acquire strength. There is a difference, however; the lad is overcome by his power so that a shaman must dance to relieve him and help him regain control. While this is foreign to Klamath-Shasta thought, it is characteristically Wishram. There everyone on returning from an experience is overpowered by it and must be restored by a shaman.

As Kroeber justifiably points out, the unique characteristics of the Californian control dances center among the Yurok and Hupa, and gradually diminish in number as far as the Maidu.[470] It may be profitable to reexamine the data.

There are two distinctive features of these complexes: the "pains" by which the novice is possessed and the dance for control. It is obvious that there is no inherent connection between this particular type of possession and such a dance. Among the Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta "pains" take the place of spirit familiars among the Klamath, for example. Among the tribes to the east and south (Achomawi, Atsugewi, the several Maidu groups, Wintun and Yuki) the shamans operate with spirits, but "pains" appear as causes of disease. All these have the dance, which is far wider in its distribution than "pains" as sources of shamanistic power.

The concept of the "pain" has interesting variations among the several tribes. It is everywhere animate, sometimes with personality, and while ordinarily immaterial, has sometimes a material form. When its material characteristics are described, it is commonly a clear double-pointed object, like an obsidian arrowpoint. Thus the Shasta "pain" is a small, clear double-pointed object; they are the same as spirits, yet each spirit possesses one. The Chimariko disease object is small, double-pointed, and animate; the Achomawi like a little

[470] Kroeber, Handbook, 852.

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needle of glass. The Wintun "pain" is a spirit missile, a flint or obsidian arrowpoint, and like its Yuki analogue, is dispatched to cause illness. The Yuki "pain" is an invisible obsidian point. The object which the Sacramento Valley Maidu shamans insert into the novice to see if he can get it out, is neither a disease object nor the embodiment of power, yet is obviously related to these; an invisible double-pointed object as long as the finger. The disease objects of the Northeastern Maidu are not described in this fashion, but they have the animate, personal character of the "pains" elsewhere. Southern Maidu initiates are "killed" with a "piece of medicine" a half inch long. No description is available from Yurok and Hupa.[471]

It is unfortunate that the term "pains" has crept into the literature to describe things which, it seems to me, are not related to these concepts. Thus, the "pains" of the Takelma are neither substitutes for spirits nor have they personality. Of the Sinkyone, it is recorded: "Ordinary disease was cured by sucking out of the body the *sinsing* or material 'pains.'" In neither case do these differ one whit from the disease objects of peoples outside this area. The case is somewhat different for Achomawi-Atsugewi: the "pain" is described as "a small black thing, like a bit of horse-hair" which a shaman sucks out in a cure, but "the 'pains' grow in size and strength by killing people. If the shaman does not catch the 'pain' when it returns to him after killing the person it has been shot into, he loses all control over it, and it goes about killing people of its own initiative. This is the cause of epidemics." This closely resembles the Northeastern Maidu concept.[472]

The inaugural dance of California is of considerable proportions only among Yurok, Hupa, Shasta, and Northeastern Maidu, and as such is comparable to the Klamath affair. On the other hand those of the more southerly peoples seem relatively unpretentious: Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, northerly Wintun, Maidu of the Sacramento valley, and Southern Maidu.

The Shasta performance has been described above. The Yurok novice dreams of a dead shaman who puts a "pain" in her body. A dance is made in the sweat-house for ten days during which she dances under the direction of older shamans. The "pain" is induced to leave her body and is re-swallowed, thus demonstrating control. She

[471] Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 197–199 302, 361; Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 562; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 268, 280; Gifford, Southern Maidu, 244.

[472] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42; Kroeber, Handbook, 150; Dixon, Some Shamans, 25, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218.

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then goes to a seat or little monument on the mountain for reasons obscure. On her return the dance is repeated and followed by one about a large fire to "cook the pains." The Tolowa dance is like that of the Yurok. The Hupa dance is but barely described. "At night a dance is held in the sweat-house. The candidate dances around the fire as many times as possible. This is continued until the prospective doctor gets the desired clairvoyance, or the sucking doctor gets the 'pain' in his mouth. During the nightly dance the candidate makes the motion of catching the pain and putting it into his mouth. Sometimes the desired power is long in coming. The candidate goes in that case to a high mountain and dances in the rarer air." When dreams come to the Northeastern Maidu novice, or he has had an answer to his quest in the mountains, he becomes ill. A performance is then held at which older shamans attempt to appease his spirits. He then sings his spirit songs. This may continue through the winter, when, after his ear lobes are pierced, he sets off to the mountains to acquire more spirits.[473]

The southern performances are simpler. The Chimariko dance takes place out of doors, where an established shaman put a "pain" into the novice's mouth. Of the northerly Wintun, Kroeber writes: "Shamans are 'finished' in a dance held in the sweat-house at night. Older doctors suck the novices' bodies clean; then call the *yapaitu* or spirits, who enter the neophytes and render them temporarily unconscious or maniac"; of the Sinkyone: "A new shaman fasted and danced at nights [*sic*] for a period of some duration in a conical house erected or reserved for the occasion, while more experienced colleagues accompanied him, interpreting his symptoms and advising him in the gradual acquisition of mastery over the difficulties of his involuntary art." The Yuki dance takes place in summer; older shamans dance with the novices for five days. The novices' spirits come to the older shamans and instruct them how they can be made manageable. The spirits shoot the novice with spirit obsidians to make his heart light and clean. Among the Northern Pomo a shaman is called in to diagnose the novice who has had an experience. They dance together and the shaman sucks out a feather as a sign that the novice will become a shaman. The Maidu novice of the Sacramento valley division falls sick after his experience. Shamans sing over him and give instructions. They insert long spirit objects in his

[473] Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 127; Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 65; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274–279.

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nose, over which he must demonstrate control by withdrawing them. Southern Maidu are initiated by established shamans. "They are placed in pits with 'medicine' and 'killed' with a piece of 'poison medicine' about a half inch long."[474]

It does not seem probable that the Cahuilla novice dance is related to these northern forms, since it is not only different but is not known in the intervening area. The Cahuilla youth gives a feast and then dances for three nights to gain ability to sing his songs.[475]

There are some rather interesting linkages in these data. Klamath and Shasta have the dance in winter. Possibly the Northeastern Maidu novice's dance through the winter is related but that is doubtful. Presumably summer is the dance time for others, as specifically the Yuki. Its duration is five days among Klamath; Shasta, three for each performance; Modoc, five in at least the first performance; Yurok, ten; Yuki, five. Klamath and Shasta hold it in a dwelling, others in the sweat-house (Yurok, Hupa, northerly Wintun) or special dance house (Sinkyone). The Klamath novice dances as close to a huge fire as he dares; so the Shasta in the earlier dance; the Yurok dances around a hot fire to "cook the pains," the Hupa around a fire. Shasta, Yurok, and Yuki believe the aspirant is shot with "pains" by his spirits; the Yurok draws them out and swallows them to show his control. The Hupa novice duplicates this by seizing and swallowing the "pains." The older shamans' part in the Yurok, Sinkyone, Yuki, and Northeastern Maidu dances is to show the novice how to gain mastery of his "pains" or spirits. Among the northerly Wintun, Northern Pomo, and Sacramento Valley Maidu they treat him for his disorder. They first suck his body clean; the Pomo suck out a feather. The Valley Maidu combine this with an opportunity for the novice to demonstrate his control by drawing out "pain"-like objects they put in him. The Yurok, Hupa, and Northeastern Maidu novice seeks further experiences in the mountains; the last after his ears are pierced. Ear piercing is the preliminary to a power quest among the neighboring Achomawi and Atsugewi.

There can be little doubt that the north Californian dance, which is essentially one of instruction and control, is related to the tutelage exercised over neophytes in the Secret Society-Kuksu complex centering farther south.

[474] Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 197, 199, 361; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 326; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, Chimariko, 303; Gifford, Southern Maidu, 244.

[475] Hooper, Cahuilla, 334.

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### *The Winter Performance*

• 756 787 796 Shamanistic performances among the Klamath could take place only in midwinter (December–January). Every shaman made a point of exhibiting his power at this time, several of them sometimes joining for a performance. Midwinter was the most propitious moment to recall the spirits. In fact, it was at this time that laymen of the audience, who had some spirit power, would feel impelled by their own spirits to sing their songs.

*171 756 787 796 This is the essential element of the Kwakiutl secret society performances in midwinter. The society members are those who are repossessed by their spirits and the novices those who are newly possessed at this time. This is probably general among all adjacent groups having secret societies. Boas remarks that "among all the northwest coast tribes these ritualistic performances are confined to the winter months, and the season is set off from the rest of the year as the sacred season.[476]

Southward of here there are secret societies but they are not specifically connected with spirit repossession; such as those of the Quileute, whose performances take place in the winter months. The possession is general among all individuals. Again, among the Klallam the guardian spirits come to their owners once a year, generally in December or January. The person becomes "ill," calls on his friends to help him sing, and "when the guardian spirit is satisfied, it leaves the owner, who then becomes well again." Identically the same is recorded for the southern Puget Sound groups (Snohomish, Snoqualmi, Nisqually, etc.) as occurring from the middle of November to the beginning of January.[477] Both among the Klallam and on the Sound these dances take place at the winter potlatch, but they also occur at other potlatches through the year, merely as dance performances and without repossession. This renders Olson's observations on the Quinault intelligible: their potlatches are usually given about Christmas or New Year, and at these people sing their spirit songs. This suggests that here too repossession takes place at this time. On the other hand, his notes state specifically that spirit power is not stronger at this time. The spirit dances of the Wishram are very

[476] Tribes of the North Pacific Coast, 244.

[477] Frachtenberg, Ceremonial Societies of Quileute, 322; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290, 306; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56, 59, 73.

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similar to the Klallam-Sound Salish affairs. These likewise are held only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March. Potlatching on this occasion is represented by some trifling gifts made by the singers. It is not clear that the man who rises to sing his spirit song at this time is repossessed, but it is suggested by a statement I recorded that when the auditors heard their songs sung, they "became like fire inside, wild," offering bits of flesh to be cut off. The guardian spirit dance of the Nez Percé closely parallels this performance. This appears again among the Lillooet, and it may be that Teit's reference to the "manitou dance" of the middle Columbia Salish refers to a similar affair. (These people formerly occupied the territory between the Wishram and Nez Percé.)[478] A Wasco analogue may be reflected in a tale describing just such a singing and dancing festival among the animals; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.[479] This is similar to the Klamath practice of dancing as close as possible to the fire, which I know is also the custom among Puget Sound groups, hence may have been universal in these performances.

There is a suggestive connection with these northern ideas in the Alsea custom of telling traditions in one month alone, January, and never again during the year.[480]

It is significant that the novice among Klamath and Shasta waits until winter for his inaugural dance. Among the latter this is the period in which the candidate is most likely to be possessed: "doctors generally begin their dreams and dancing early in the winter, as it is then that the Axeki [spirits] are always about the camp."[481]

If then the Klamath winter performance is construed as related to northern rites, by reason of its time, and the repossession of both shaman and layman, it is unique in one respect. I have been unable to find that elsewhere there are such regularly recurring opportunities for shamanistic display. To be sure, these occur elsewhere and quite widely, but not as regimented performances fixed as to time.

### *The Shaman's Assistant*

The Klamath shaman regularly employs an assistant who serves as interpreter of his rushing mumbled speech. Similarly, at both winter performances and while curing, a second individual is selected to call the spirits and prompt them to act.

[478] Spinden, Nez Percé, 262–264; Teit, Lillooet, 286, The Middle Columbia Salish, 98, 128.

[479] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 311–312, cf. 95–99, 129–131.

[480] Farrand, Alsea, 245.

[481] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24.

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*171 755 756 Elsewhere in the area from the Columbia river into northern California the shaman is provided with an assistant of this type. He participates, however, only in curing ceremonies. At the southern fringe of the area his functions fuse with those of the clown attendant in secret society performances. On the other hand, in western Washington he is not an interpreter or repeater of speeches, but serves purely as a lay assistant.

[114] The Modoc assistant comes nearest to the Klamath in type. Meacham refers to him as an orator who repeats loudly the shaman's speeches and who supports the shaman novice while dancing. Since the specific reference to him is in connection with the novice's dance, we may presume that he regularly accompanies the shaman in all his operations.[482]

Takelma, Wishram, and Achomawi assistants function during a cure like those of the Klamath, repeating the shaman's incoherent speech. A shamanistic dance, purely for display, occurs among the Wishram, but I did not learn that an assistant of the Klamath type had any part in it. This appears, however, among the foothill group of Northern Maidu, where, while a shaman shows his ability to commune with the spirits, a layman "apes the shaman in everything, repeats after him everything he says, and in every way tries to make the spectators laugh. It is considered a compliment to laugh, and a sign of appreciation." This "clown" has also full rein at the ceremonial for the dedication of a new dance house. Powers reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats every utterance of a shaman during his performance. This may refer to a clown like that of the Northern Maidu or to an assistant who helps at a cure.[483] There is no trace of the clown in the dances of the Northeastern Maidu, but he appears again in the performances of the Sacramento valley branch. He is speaker for the dance leader, mimics the words and actions of the dancers, and attempts to make the spectators laugh by his antics. Such clowns appear regularly in Kuksu cult dances among other Sacramento valley peoples and are known as far south as the central and southern Yokuts.[484]

In the region west and north of the Wishram, shamans have assistants of a sort but they are not speakers. For example, the Chinook

[482] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129–136.

[483] Powers, Tribes of California, 334.

[484] Sapir, Religious Ideas of Takelma, 43; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356, Psychologie religieuse, 568–569, 574–577; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 271, 286, 295, 311–318, 323; Kroeber, Handbook, 383.

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shaman who seeks to recover the soul of a sick man uses "a manikin made of wood and cedar bark. When a conjurer wants to make use of this manikin he gives it to a person who has no guardian spirit, who shakes it for him, and they two go to the country of the ghosts." Boas states that this type of cure was derived by the Chinook from the Chehalis. Such sticks, carved and painted with reference to their guardians, and here described as manikins, are common property to those with spirit helpers from Oregon northward. When a Quinault shaman goes to cure, he is regularly accompanied by an aid who holds and rattles his carved stick. Here again illness is due to soul loss but there is no journey to the land of the dead.[485]

In quite another direction the Pomo appear with an assistant for the curing shaman. He shakes the shaman's rattle and sings his songs. As Kroeber remarks, the appearance of an assistant in this quarter is unusual, and in the present state of our knowledge not connected by distribution with the instances cited above.[486]

One cannot escape the impression that this provision of a speaker for the shaman is linked with the chief's spokesman of many tribes of the west. The Northwest Coast type of spokesman is known as far south as the Wishram on the Columbia and perhaps in coastal Oregon. In the Basin, from eastern Washington to northern Arizona, there is word-for-word repetition of formal speeches. There is no chief's speaker in the intervening area from Wishram to Maidu, but there is for the shaman. When we realize that in this region, chiefs are socially eclipsed by shamans, we may well argue that a substitution has taken place. Objection may be made, however, that this is equally true in the Basin, where, so far as we know, shamans do not have speakers.

### *Accessory Elements*

The distribution of analogues of the Klamath shamans' feats is quite irregular, to judge by the few notes I have collected, but this is undoubtedly due to incompleteness of information. Merely to put these on record, I present them here.

The Klamath shaman swallows fire; so does the Lillooet and Thompson. Live coals are eaten by Quinault secret society performers,

[485] Boas, Doctrine of Souls, 40, Chinook Texts, 207; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[486] Handbook, 258.

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*17 Pomo ghost dancers, Cahuilla and Pima shamans. Perhaps the Nis-
• 756 qually trick of eating cold ashes is connected with these.[487]

Treading on fire or hot coals is no trick of the Klamath, but occurs I believe among the Modoc. It is also known from the Quinault, the Puget Sound Salish, Northeastern Maidu, and in the boys' rites of southern California. The Pomo can plunge his hands in fire; the Yurok shaman handles hot stones.[488]

The Klamath shaman can fill or empty at will a basket with live fish, pond-lily seed, or blood. The Thompson is credited with causing water to appear and disappear, the southern Yokuts with making fish appear in water, and the Pima with transforming water to wheat.[489]

The Klamath hold that food brought to the shamanistic performances is first eaten by the frog spirit. Until this spirit has partaken, the food may not be touched for fear of sickness. Similarly in a Shasta ceremonial in which a shaman frees a village of lurking disease, his guardian spirit is thought to eat food which has been brought for that purpose. If this is not forthcoming, the spirit may devour someone instead. The Takelma analogue takes a different form: a shaman must not eat before dancing, for, since the dance is reckoned food for his guardian spirit, he, the shaman, would be guilty of the impropriety of eating first.[490]

It may be that this is only a special construction put on the Klamath custom of throwing morsels of food to the spirits before one eats. Certainly the Kwakiutl who puts bits of food in the fire before the feasters eat is presenting them to the spirits of the fire.[491]

*171 The Klamath, and probably Modoc, shaman has set up on the out-
756 side of his dwelling a carved image of a boy or dwarf spirit. To find
532 a carved image here is distinctly unusual in a culture in which wood-working is minimal. This seems to me to be another evidence of influence from the woodcarving area to the north. While the analogy may not be proper, it may be pointed out that to the northward a shaman, in fact everyone with a guardian spirit, carves or represents that spirit on a stick which he carries during his performances.
535 Tillamook, Chinook, and Quinault shamans have such carved sticks,

[487] Teit, Lillooet, 289; Thompson Indians, 362; Olson, Quinault field notes; Kroeber, Handbook, 264; Hooper, Cahuilla, 331, 335; Russell, Pima, 259; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 68.

[488] Haeberlin-Gunther, *op. cit.*, 61; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Kroeber, Handbook, 68.

[489] Kroeber, Handbook, 507; Russell, Pima, 258.

[490] Dixon, Shasta, 488; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42.

[491] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1331.

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which their assistants hold or with which they dance. In fact, the use of special dance staffs is general among all Quinault who have spirits, as it is among the southern Puget Sound Salish. It is strange that neither Dr. Sapir nor I learned of either type of carving among the Wishram, but our information is not full.[492]

A tall painted pole is erected in front of the Klamath shaman's lodge from which dangles a cord bearing at intervals bunches of feathers, a piece of wood, and a miniature gambling tray, all these representative of spirits. There are analogues of this southward to the Maidu. Such a pole is also erected outside a Modoc shaman's dwelling; it is painted and bears the skins and feathers of various spirit animals. It is used earlier at the novice's dance. This is described as some three or four meters high and decorated with paint and a few feathers. Such a pole is set up when a Shasta shaman rids a locality of disease: it has baskets hung from it. Again when an Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman cures, a pole is sometimes set up near the house, to which is tied a bunch of feathers (*qaqu*). The *qaqu* has a significant function; it is obtained with difficulty on his spirit quest and has the power to tell him where the disease is located. The poles used for a Northeastern Maidu shaman novice are somewhat different. They are set up on the roof of the house in which the inaugural dance takes place, and inside above the spot where he stays; others are carried to the mountains where novices go on their quests. These are short wands, a meter to a meter and a half long, variously painted, with pendent strings of feathers and acorn shells, or bunches of feathers. These have some obscure but intimate relation to his spirits. Similar wands are set up at the dedication of a new dance house by the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley.[493]

Among the items of a Klamath shaman's costume are a forehead band or neckband of woodpecker scalps mounted on a buckskin foundation and a bunch of yellowhammer feathers worn on hat or neck. The feathers of both these birds have value and ceremonial usage in California but not to the north.

Woodpecker scalps attain the status of money among the Yurok and perhaps their neighbors. Not only have they value in themselves, but they are worked into ceremonial headdresses over most of northern California. The Yurok and Hupa use forehead headbands like those

[492] Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 10, Doctrine of Souls, 40; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[493] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130, 136; Dixon, Shasta, 475–476, 487, Notes on Achomawi, 218, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 275–278, 312.

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*171 292 435 of the Klamath in their Jumping dances, and the Hupa "roll-woodpecker hats" in their Brush Dance. Dixon figures what is probably a Shasta shaman's headband with a large woodpecker scalp affixed. Northern Maidu make use of a belt or bandolier of woodpecker scalps now mounted on buckskin, but formerly on a netted foundation. A headdress like a helmet, covered with these, is worn by the highest members of their secret society. A spirit impersonator of the Sacramento Valley Maidu wears a forehead band of these scalps, tapering at its ends. Pomo women wear "a woven band of woodpecker feathers" (scalps?) presumably in dances: this suggests a net foundation. In all the other cases cited above the foundation of the band is a buckskin strip. Kroeber has pointed out that the Yurok headband (and I would add here all northern analogues) have skin mounting, while those used in the Kuksu dances of the lower Sacramento valley are made on a close network. The Northern Maidu belt then represents an intelligible transformation of technique. Klamath and Shasta shamans' headbands, and the Takelma shaman's mere use of the feathers in his hair, are attenuated usages.[494]

Klamath use of yellowhammer feathers is only casual and would have no significance were these not regularly part of ceremonial regalia to the south. There the form is commonly a forehead band. Their use is primarily central and northern Californian and they are not found in most of southern California.[495] A search of the literature shows the use of such bands by shamans only among Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northeastern Maidu, and the feathers alone by Takelma shamans.[496] Elsewhere they are non-shamanistic dance regalia: Chilula, Sinkyone, Coast Yuki, Yuki, Pomo, Patwin, Northern and Southern Maidu, Yokuts, Koso, and Luiseño.[497] It will be observed that this distribution avoids the Klamath river tribes.

*171 • 756 Circumspection of action in the presence of a shaman is held necessary in a number of groups from Thompson to Maidu. His immediate presence is fraught with power, so that making contact with him by his shadow or one's own, startling him, or making a misstep in passing, are all potentially dangerous. A shaman of the Northern

[494] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 56, 433–434; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 19, 69, 86; Dixon, Shasta, 481; Northern Maidu, 149, 284; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 157; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 264.

[495] Kroeber, Handbook, 140, 149, 508, 665.

[496] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Northern Maidu, 283; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 316; Sapir, *op. cit.*, 264.

[497] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 140, 149, 173, 216, 261, pls. 59 and 77, 508, 591, 665; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 152, 283; Faye, Southern Maidu, 48, 50.

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Maidu of the Sacramento valley may kill merely by letting his shadow fall on his victim. A Klamath cannot pass in front of a shaman nor drop something in front of him, else the shaman suffers a hemorrhage. Similarly a Kwakiutl apparently does not pass behind an eating shaman, else he too has a hemorrhage. The Wishram shaman, angry with one who endangers him by passing behind or startling him, may bewitch in revenge. A Cowichan of the mainland group will not let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, for the latter may seize the chance to replace his own lost soul. Similarly the Lillooet avoid letting their shadows fall on a shaman or standing in his, for fear of consequences. The Thompson, too, will not let his shadow fall on a shaman (the reverse is not harmful), and dares not startle him nor eat meat without inviting him to share it.[498]

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### *Clairvoyance*

Prediction is a widespread, if not universal, ability of shamans. A somewhat unique form among the Klamath is that at the dance preceding the departure of a war party. The shaman dances in front of the warriors in order to discover those who will be wounded: he sees them bleeding. He also accompanies the party to watch over them and cure wounds. Something of the same sort is noted for the Modoc. This also seems to take place among the Chinook: "before the people go to war they sing. If one of them sees blood, he will be killed in battle." Perhaps this is general in the northwest; at any rate Goddard observes of the Northwest Coast at large: "Every war party includes a shaman who by his supernatural knowledge warns of danger and points out favorable times and places for attacks. The shaman, by catching or destroying the souls of the enemy, makes the killing of their bodies an easy matter."[499]

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As I have pointed out it is unusual that the Klamath shaman treats wounds and fractures by matter-of-fact methods. But this has also been noted of the Achomawi. Angulo thinks this true only since the advent of the whites, but it is surely an old practice of the Klamath.[500]

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The practice of freeing a locality or village of disease, dispatched there by a malevolent shaman, is probably more common than I have

[498] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269; Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 730; Lower Fraser River, 9; Teit, Lillooet, 288; Thompson Indians, 361.

[499] Gatschet, 1:21; Boas, Chinook Texts, 270; Goddard, Indians of the Northwest Coast, 119.

[500] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 571.

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*171 755 been able to discover. At any rate, I note it for Achomawi-Atsugewi and Shasta, as well as Klamath. Following the usual shamanistic seance the Klamath shaman searches the vicinity for the malevolent spirit. He rushes about until he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. Several men must support him by the arms and restrain him until he can destroy it in water. The Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman forces the disease out of the ground by his power and then seizes it. He staggers about in his effort to hold it until he can plunge it into water. He then swallows or burns it, or dispatches it to kill its sender. The Shasta erect a shaman's pole at the affected spot. The shaman dances, calling on her spirit to dislodge the disease "pains" from the ground. "If the shaman's guardian is successful, he succeeds in pushing the pains into the river, and drowns them." Certain features of a Chinook cure are like these. When their shaman has taken a disease from a sick man, he must be held by several men to overcome the strength of the disease spirit, until he can plunge it into water.[501] The destruction of an extracted disease by placing it in water is a common feature among Washington tribes. I have seen it, for example, as part of a cure by members of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers among the Skokomish and learned that it occurred among the Okanagon.

### *Various Beliefs*

*171 763 • 756 821 I have a somewhat random series of analogues of Klamath beliefs. The Klamath hold that a storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned. The Northern Maidu hold that it thunders at once when a great man dies, and inasmuch as the most important individuals of the Maidu are shamans, it is clear that this is a comparable belief. The Thompson have it that the death or burial of a person causes an immediate change in the weather; that of a shaman, a sudden and extreme change. The death of a Wind River Shoshoni causes a whirlwind.

*171 821 844 These beliefs are apparently a single expression of a more general belief that both births and deaths are signaled by a change in the weather. For example, the Klamath also hold that it always blows at a woman's first parturition. Analogous to this the Wishram say that extreme weather marks a birth. Further, a rainbow points to the spot where the birth takes place. The latter belief at least is

[501] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Shasta, 487; Boas, Chinook Texts, 208.

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shared by other Upper Chinook (Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas) and the Eastern Pomo. Similar to their belief in respect to death, the Northern Maidu say it thunders when a woman has a miscarriage, and the people of Cochiti say the same of a Navaho woman when the wind blows. Again, a sudden change of the weather accompanies a Thompson birth.[502] 171* 821 844

An association of the moon and frog is common to several tribes of this quarter. The Klamath say that the Moon is saved by his wife, Frog, during an eclipse, from being eaten by a grizzly. The frog can be seen in the moon. The Quinault hold an identical belief. An eclipse is caused by the "upper fisher" (a spirit animal) biting the moon. "There is a lady frog up there who helps the most and really saves the moon." A tale describes this frog as married to the moon. According to the Northern Maidu, the spots in the moon are thought to be a frog. A Northern Paiute tale describes Moon as swallowing Frog.[503] 171* 821

One of the few acts of outright magic among the Klamath relates to causing the wind to blow. This is accomplished by poking in the hollows of a certain rock, striking another, or poking in a particular eddy. The Wishram also maintain that stirring about in a hole in the rocks near their village will raise a wind; the Quinault that thrusting a stick into a spot where gas bubbles rise in the water will bring a storm; and the Twana (or Klallam?) that shaking a certain rock will cause rain.[504] 171* 789

Comparable to the Klamath belief that the "cat" *Bassariscus* kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks, the Northern Maidu state this of the mountain lion.[505] 171* 825

*Summary*

The general basis of Klamath shamanism is like that of other interior Plateau and Basin peoples. Social importance attaches to shamans above even that accorded chiefs. Rituals are meager and throughout are crisis ceremonials. As with the generality of North American tribes, acquisition of power is free for all, shamans stand- 171* 756

[502] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266–7; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 374; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297; Goldfrank, Cochiti, 83; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 316.

[503] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266 (the tale relative to this is not available to me); Natches, Northern Paiute Verbs, 257.

[504] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674.

[505] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266.

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ing out only by their greater capacities. The voluntary quest in an isolated place and the formulation of spirits as birds, animals, and other things in nature are equally general North American.

There is, however, a local phrasing of sha. anism in the interior, centering in southeastern Oregon and northeastern California, that is, from Klamath to Maidu. In part this is due to the presence of elements shared equally with the whole of northern California; in part to specific influences from two directions, northwestern California and the Northwest Coast. These have been caught up into complexes characteristic of this territory. Certain features are, further, peculiar to this locality alone.

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California and the western segment of the Southwest are characterized by the few individuals on whom supernatural grace descends and the dream as the means of its reception. Elsewhere east and north the voluntary quest is open to everyone and the vision its culmination. Northern California combines these variously; the Klamath by making the quest, permitting anyone to do so, and holding the quest a prelude to the dream.

Spirits are the source of power in northeastern California, as they are northward and eastward. The curious northwest Californian concept of "pains," alike sources of power and pathogenic in their action, infiltrates the beliefs of the northeastern quarter of the state but does not penetrate to the Klamath. Nor do the mythic supernaturals of the northwest coastal strip known as far south as the Columbia river make their appearance here. But the conceptualization of the shaman's spirits as dwarfs, localized in northern California, does appear among the Klamath.

There is also in the interior some inheritance of a predilection to acquire spirits; in this the Klamath share. But there is nothing of that rigid inheritance of particular spirits which focuses on the Northwest Coast, nor the inheritance of paraphernalia known to central California.

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The manner of conducting the quest has two local peculiarities. The curious practice of piling rocks in the mountains is known north and south of the Klamath from Nes Pereé to Atsugewi. Diving for a spirit, swooning, and awakening with a hemorrhage has a far more widely extended range. In one form or another, it is found from the Kwakiutl through northern California. The emphasis on it links the Klamath definitely with the northern members of this group.

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The time of life at which supernatural power may be gained is not limited among most western tribes. Those of eastern Washington and the interior of British Columbia, however, tend to restrict the quest to adolescence, and with them seem to link the secret society initiations of the Northwest Coast. One gains the impression that in northwestern California, where the acquisition is involuntary, it descends only on adults. The Klamath, like others of northeastern California, follow the more widespread habit of seeking power at any time.

Feminine shamanism is characteristic of northwestern California. While this appears in the relatively large number of women practitioners as far east as Shasta and Achomawi, the Klamath are unaffected by this influence.

Specialization among shamans is not marked over most of western America. Such distinctions as are made between those who cure and mere clairvoyants, or the really powerful shaman and one with limited abilities, are very variable and never particularly impressive. Such distinctions do not appear among the Klamath at all. Neither do the common Californian specialists, the rattlesnake, bear, and weather shamans. Weather control is exercised by any Klamath shaman who has the requisite spirits.

Northern California and Oregon share an initial dance for the novice: a performance of initiation and mastery in the south, a demonstration of ability in Oregon. The Klamath affiliate with the latter. Its local form on the Klamath river below the Klamath (Yurok, Shasta, and Modoc), a dance made immediately on the acquisition of power with a second somewhat later, has no counterpart among the Klamath. The general form of the Klamath novice dance is identical with all their shamanistic seances. In one particular they affiliate with the down-river tribes, namely in dancing over a hot fire, but even this is known on the southern fringe of the Northwest Coast proper, if not elsewhere.

Northwest Coast influences appear at two points: the time of shamanistic seances and the woodcarvings representing spirits. Klamath seances are restricted to midwinter, the novice dance among them. This is regularly the period at which all who have spirits are repossessed and impelled to dance, shamans among them. The regimentation of the repossessed in the midwinter sacred period of the Northwest Coast is lacking, but a diminution of the idea and its forms is clearly traceable from that focus to Shasta and Klamath. Wooden

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10



*171 Wooden
images are unique in the non-woodworking culture of Klamath and
* 756 Modoc, yet this too is traceable southward from the same center.[1] It is
532 far less certain that clairvoyance in connection with a war party is derived from that source, yet the trait is shared by the northern coastal people.

*171 Some elements are local in the Oregon-north California interior.
955 Such is the shaman's assistant, his mouthpiece and interlocutor. He
756 is present at cures from Wishram to Achomawi; present at seances from Klamath to Southern Maidu. For some of the Maidu he is a clown, which links him with the clown among the Kuksu impersonators of central California. There is reason to think that this functionary is historically connected with the chief's speaker known from the Northwest Coast through the interior to the Southwest. Other local elements are the pole having spirit reference (Klamath to Northern Maidu), the notion that food is first eaten by the spirits (Takelma, Shasta, Klamath), the ridding of a locality of disease (Klamath, Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi).

*171 Other elements, while local, are somewhat more widely distributed.
756 There is the circumspection with respect to the shaman's shadow and
[821] to startling him; the notion that weather changes at birth and death: all these are common from southern British Columbia to the Maidu, largely through the interior.

* 171 The Klamath shamans' dress bears some imprint of northern and
756 central Californian influence in the use of woodpecker scalp head-
292 bands and of yellowhammer feathers. Both are characteristic dance
237 regalia in the south; on the Oregon border they have passed over to the shamans.

*171 In broad perspective Klamath shamanism is of generalized,
756 undifferentiated North American type, sharing some features that are local, and but moderately influenced from the Northwest Coast and the central and northwestern foci of California. Its general nature is recognizable in the quest and the undifferentiated power it yields; the most marked local elements are the predisposition to inherit power, the novice dance, and the shaman's assistant. California at large appears in the dream as a vehicle of acquiring power; northern California in the dwarfs that figure among Klamath spirits; central California in the shaman's headdress. Northwest Coast influences are no stronger; repossession in midwinter and the use of carvings color Klamath shamanism only mildly.

1 [i.e., the Northwest Coast. -Analyst]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10



If we look for elements peculiarly Klamath, they are difficult to find. At best there is only the regularity with which seances occur at midwinter, and even here we do not know with certainty that this does not occur elsewhere. Further, if we feel that this regularity is due to recurrent possession, this merges with general Northwest Coast practice, and its uniqueness disappears. The peculiarity of the Klamath complex, then, rests only in the specific combination of widely distributed elements that they have effected, a combination known nowhere else in exactly this form.

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## THE MARRIAGE COMPLEX

Social relations among the Klamath, even more than the shamanistic practices, are clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position. They are most clearly crystallized in the matters of chieftainship, slaveholding, concepts of wealth, and the relative social standing of shaman and chief, but especially in their marital relations. Household and village groupings, puberty rites and analogous customs, have much less definite or peculiar form among them. For this reason, the discussion which follows will be confined largely to the earlier group of topics. As the most complex situation is that surrounding marriage, I will analyze this first.

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While marriage among the Klamath is contracted by purchase, it is not a negotiated transaction. Payment is socially obligatory. It is a seal of respectability and in a rough way the amount changing hands is a measure of the social pretensions of the families involved. Hence clandestine matches are severely frowned on. No obligation may be assumed for which payment is not forthcoming. Yet such payment does not fix the status nor the value of an individual with any precision. For example, the purchase price of a murdered man's mother or that of his bride never enters consciously in assessing his blood price. Failure to pay for a bride is a blot not easily erased.

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It must be remembered that the reciprocal gifts from the bride's family frequently outweigh the purchase price. Further, the bride is in no sense a chattel, but free to leave her husband at will, he having but slight recourse to recover his gifts. Nor is a wife obligated to bear children to her husband, nor does their birth cancel the marriage debt. In adultery it is clear that a man has no eye to the monetary value of his wife's affections. He kills the lover; to take payment is unthinkable. It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con-

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1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)



Every evidence points to the recency of the rise of chieftainship among these people. It is doubtful that material differences in wealth and slave-holding existed prior to the opening of direct contact with the Columbia river tribes after 1800. Even then chiefs were of relatively minor importance. The shamans were the great men and the wealthiest, easily eclipsing the chiefs. As an instance I have cited the difficulty of obtaining the names of chiefs of pre-reservation days, whereas shamans are well remembered. It is clear that some of the local groups did not have chiefs. The relative dominance of the shaman persisted until reservation days. Prior to this time chiefs were barely differentiated leaders of the Great Basin type.

### *Basis of Chieftainship*

The Northwest Coast tribes stood in sharp contrast to this simple social scheme. There existed a caste system, a division into aristocracy, commoners, and slaves. While the relative ranking was continuous from the noblest aristocrat to the meanest commoner, there was nevertheless a well defined consciousness of distinction between the grades. This aristocracy was based on lineage and wealth. Its highest members were the chiefs, ordinarily the wealthiest persons. Yet a chief might lose wealth but retain his rank by reason of his birth. Within each community were several chiefs of the first rank whose authority extended hardly beyond their immediate retainers. Their advice was followed rather than their dictates obeyed. They were, however, among the Kwakiutl, for example, the recipients of gifts from their followers, not so much by reason of right as to bespeak their future aid and to enrich them to the further glory of the whole group.[sss]

A definite caste system of this type is traceable southward from British Columbia through coastal Washington and Oregon at least as far as the Alsea. It has been noted, for example, for Klallam, the Puget sound tribes, Chinook, Wishram, and Alsea. It did not appear in the interior among the upper Fraser river tribes, nor in eastern Washington as among the Okanagon and Middle Columbia Salish, nor in eastern Oregon among Klamath, Modoc, and Northern Paiute. At the southern extremity of this area of distribution a somewhat different situation prevailed. There was no rigid caste system, but differences of wealth were considerable and on these social standing

[sss] See Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 360; Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 338, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f., Social Organization of the Kwakiutl.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)



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and "one family was recognized as preeminent in each of the four geographic divisions into which the Shasta are grouped."[564]

The number of chiefs was definitely fixed only on the Oregon coast, where there were two for each local division or village. "There were two chiefs for every river, among the Tillamook as well as among the Alsea," one the principal chief.[565] "The Coos Indians lived in small villages, each of which had two chiefs. . . . . Of the two village-chiefs, one usually ranked higher." There was in addition a tribal head chief.[566] This is the multiple chief-wealthy-man situation of the whole coast reduced to definite form, and it is even conceivable that these people did not differ at all, particular cases where there were two chiefs having been cited as the general custom. It must be remembered that our accounts are of the slightest. It is possible however that there was a dual chieftainship prevailing on the Oregon coast. This might account for the curious fact that two chiefs of presumably equal rank are repeatedly referred to among the Rogue river Indians assembled at Table Rock about 1855 (possibly Takelma proper or Upland Takelma).[567]

Quite another basis for the recognition of chiefs existed in the northern Basin-Plateau and the Plains, namely, a war record coupled with generosity and other personal qualifications. The Klamath shared this sentiment as well as the northwestern recognition of wealth. The warlike character of chiefs extended as far west as the Middle Columbia Salish, including Nez Percé, Wind River Shoshoni,[568] and such typical north Plains tribes as Crow and Assiniboin.

In the southern parts of the Basin the characteristics of chiefs, their functions and powers, were vague. There were headmen or leaders for hunting, perhaps the only communal enterprises, among Paviotso, Washo, and Southern Paiute. These individuals were chosen by their people.[569] In importance they were eclipsed by the shamans.

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[564] Kroeber, Handbook, 296.

[565] Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 4.

[566] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 25.

[567] See Walling, History of Southern Oregon, 182.

[568] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, 126; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 283.

[569] Lowie, *op. cit.*, 284–285.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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*171 622 those of the Klamath; theirs was an advisory function and they led in war.[672]

A corollary of the chief rich man's position in California and Oregon was that he did not himself engage in war. By reason of his wealth he could terminate the conflict by paying the blood money necessary to balance the score. This has been observed of the Tillamook, Shasta, Hupa, Kato, Pomo, and was perhaps general.[673] There [701] is some suggestion of this in Klamath custom; a chief was not ordinarily a war leader but he certainly did not make good the blood-money payments. On the other hand this may have been nothing more than the common western attitude that a chief was not of necessity a war leader.

*171 683 One characteristic feature of the cultures from Columbia river southward, which has been touched on before, was a well developed system of fines for injuries. This did not appear on the Northwest Coast nor in western Washington, but was by no means confined to northwestern California as has been implied. It is quite characteristic of a larger area: Wishram, Alsea, Coos, Takelma, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, Shasta, Pomo.[674] Remuneration was often demanded for comparatively slight injuries; thus an Alsea shinny player who was hit exceptionally hard had to be compensated. The eastern groups (Klamath, Maidu, etc.) had no such sentiment, but it is worthy of note that they did compound a murder by a property settlement, a notion which may have been absent still farther east in the Basin.

### *Speaker*

*171 622 537 • [756] Chiefs' speakers occurred among many western tribes. There were none such among the Klamath, whose shamans had however assistants with comparable functions. These have been discussed with shamanism. The chief's speaker was eminently characteristic of the Northwest Coast, where his activity in the potlatch and other ceremonies has been often remarked. He not only repeated the words of his chief to the gathering but also served as his representative and advocate. In the Great Basin, on the other hand, the function of the speaker was merely to repeat verbatim after an orator or story-teller.

[672] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58; Kroeber, Handbook, 164, 296; McKern, Functional Families; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 223, Notes on the Achomawi, 215; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 41.

[673] Kroeber, A Kato War; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 202, 203, 236.

[674] Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts, 199; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 270; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 207.

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It will be observed that the Klamath conformed to the general usage in that meat and fresh fish were avoided and the scratcher used, but a woman need not leave her home unless she was a member of a shaman's household. [71]* 841 [756].

There are certain other taboos which were by no means universal but occurred over considerable areas in the same form. For example, salt was taboo to menstruants in southern and central California (Mohave, Diegueño, Luiseño, and much to the north, Pomo and Yuki).

It was in the nature of the case that those regulatory prescriptions that surround women throughout their lives hold with equal force at the first period. It was not inevitable however that the conduct of the girl at her first period should be further regimented, or that restrictions be applied to the first period and none other (as among the Wishram). As I noted at the outset of this discussion, ritualization of the first period was characteristic of the extreme west alone. [71]* 881

The rites had everywhere a composite character as far as purpose went, although it was very much the same throughout their whole range, but differently weighted in the north and south. I think we can safely state that the general purposes of the rites were to announce the nubility of the girl and thus qualify her as a candidate for marriage, and to serve her well-being at this physiological crisis. In the north the inevitable wealth display served as well to fix her social status. In the central section the industry and modesty she was forced to display were intended to fix her habits for life. While this looks much like a magical procedure, it may well have been a more direct way of achieving that end. It is indeed probable that the acts of this period of emotional stress should retain a high degree of consciousness throughout her life or at least until her habits were stabilized. In the south her physiological well-being was accentuated to the extent that other ritualistic possibilities, such as dancing, were dwarfed.

Apart from those features described above that have a general distribution there were rites of a specific character which fall into a number of distinct geographic types:

1. In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary

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*171 533 sang about foodstuffs gathered by women, the Yuki about acorns, also a woman's food product. The Klamath sang about men and women; similar love songs have been noted for the Klallam and those of the Nootka were satirically sexual. This temptation to invoke the sexual implication of the occasion took another expression; a period of license during the dance among the Northeastern Maidu and the Yuki[1]. It is highly probable that this attitude was widespread.

*171 787 How generally this crisis was made the occasion for a vision quest by the girl is not clear. This may have been a trait of Oregon and Washington alone. To be sure, the guardian spirit concept was but little developed in California, at least among more typical tribes. The girl was sent out at night by Nisqually, Tillamook, Coos, and perhaps the Klamath, to seek a spirit in the manner stereotyped for boys, wandering on the mountains and bathing in lonely pools.

*171 88 The whole performance was repeated at the following monthly periods in this area. The number of subsequent performances brought the total to five among the Klamath, conformable with their pattern number, to three among Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Karok, to two among Chinook, Northeastern Maidu, and Sinkyone, while it was repeated at monthly intervals throughout the winter among the Huchnom. While the number of performances was variable, the habit of their repetition was confined to a fairly consolidated area. The Mohave custom of imposing restrictions at successive periods for a reduced number of days at each period is not directly comparable. It is rather analogous to the continued restriction of a month's duration at first menstruation imposed by Shivwits, Luiseño, and Coast Central Pomo. There is no indication of such continuous restrictions in the Oregon-north Californian area, but this was characteristic again of the Northwest Coast tribes who imposed them for a period upward to a year (a year, Ten'a, Tlingit, Taimshian, Bella Coola; six months to a year, Tahltan; four to ten months, Nootka; six to eight months, Nisqually; five months, Quinault; fifty or one hundred days, Chinook).

*171 84 The place of the Klamath in all this is fairly clear. They have very little concern with women's periodicity and its possible social or ceremonial significance. Women are not excluded from home at their periods save in the case of those living with shamans. The rigorous segregation that occurs on all sides of them, throughout the Pacific coast, the Plateau, and Basin, made practically no impression on the Klamath. It is surely not accidental that it is the near-by Wishram who also care nothing for such restriction. Such restrictions as do

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| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | MS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Hunting Observances** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 224 o137. First kill taboo to youth | • | • | + | + | + | + | ± | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | • |
| 138. To youth's parents also | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | + |
| 139. Kill taboo until marriage | – | – | – | – | • | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 140. Youth switched after first kill | – | – | – | + | • | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | – |
| 141. Before he goes to kill first deer | + | + | – | – | – | + | . | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 142. Taboo to voice intent to hunt deer | – | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| o143. Hunter fasts morning or day of hunt | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | ± | – | + |
| [934] 144. Sexual continence before hunt | – | + | + | • | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| [276] 145. Tobacco smoked ritually before hunt | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | • | + | + | + | + | • | – | • |
| 146. Root incense before hunt | – | + | + | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – |
| [783] 147. Weapons smoked over fire | – | + | + | + | • | + | – | – | + | – | + | – | + | – | + | – |
| 148. Hunter smokes self over fire | . | + | + | + | • | + | + | – | • | – | + | + | + | • | + | – |
| 149. Root chewed before hunt | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 150. Sweating before hunt | + | + | + | • | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| [515] 151. With scarification and bleeding | – | + | • | • | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 152. Hunter prays while sweating | • | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | • | – | • | – | – | – |
| 153. Shell bead burnt as offering | – | | | | | | | | | | + | + | + | – | – | • |
| [515] 154. Bathing before hunt | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + |
| 155. Body swabbed with medicine | – | • | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | • | – | + | – | + | • |
| 156. Deer doctor charms game prior to hunt | – | + | + | | | • | • | + | • | + | + | + | + | – | – | – |
| 157. Antelope doctor charms game prior to hunt | – | + | . | | o | o | + | – | o | o | o | – | o | – | o | – |
| 158. Ceremony before group hunt | – | + | + | • | • | • | • | • | + | + | + | + | + | • | + | • |
| 159. Singing | – | + | + | • | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 160. Praying | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 161. Dancing | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – |
| 162. Hoof rattle | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | . | – | + | – |
| 163. Cocoon rattle | – | | – | | – | | | – | – | | + | + | + | + | – | – |
| 163a. Split-stick rattle | – | – | R | – | – | R | | + | – | – | – | – | . | – | . | • |
| 164. Headdress | – | – | + | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | . | – | . | – |
| 165. Conducted by shaman | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 166. Acorn-soup dinner | | | | | | | | | • | • | | | • | • | • | • |
| 167. Ceremony after hunt | – | – | • | – | • | – | – | – | – | – | • | . | • | • | – | • |
| [782] 168. Offerings made for success of hunt | + | + | • | • | • | + | + | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 168a. Eagle down | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | . | – |
| 168b. Tobacco | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | . | – |
| [754] 169. Shaman goes on hunt to charm game | – | – | – | – | • | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | • | – | + | – |
| 170. Bear spoken to in den or woods | • | • | • | + | • | – | o | – | + | . | + | • | o | . | (•) | • |
| 171. Addressed by kin term | – | – | + | – | + | – | o | – | – | – | + | + | o | . | (•) | + |
| 172. Apologetic speech after killing | – | – | + | • | + | – | o | – | + | . | + | + | o | . | (•) | + |
| 173. Meat eaten in one house | – | – | – | – | – | – | o | – | – | – | + | (+) | o | . | + | – |
| 174. All who eat must wash, be continent | – | + | + | • | | | | | | | + | + | o | . | + | – |
| 175. Remains in tree or hidden in woods | – | – | + | – | – | – | o | – | – | – | + | – | o | . | – | – |
| 176. Remains burnt | – | – | – | | | + | o | – | – | – | – | – | o | . | – | + |
| 177. Killing pregnant bear causes death, misfortune | – | . | – | + | – | – | o | – | – | – | . | + | o | . | – | – |
| [202] 178. Smoke or fire signals when 2 or more hunt together | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – |
| 179. Shouting as signal | – | – | | | | | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | • |
| 180. To obtain aid in packing kill | + | • | + | + | + | | | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **Butchering of Large Game** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 181. Large game butchered in woods | + | + | + | + | • | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | • | – | + | + |
| 182. Lying | + | + | + | • | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + |
| 183. Eyes cut out | – | – | – | + | + | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 184. Given to child to eat raw | – | – | – | • | • | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 185. Nose cut or tied | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | – | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 186. Paunch cleaned, filled with blood | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | • | + | + | • | + |
| 187. Carcass packed home whole | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | – | . | – | + | + | + | – | + |

| | K1 | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 684. Separate hole | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 685. Hole rectangular or square | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | + |
| 685a. Secondary entry | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | (+) | - | - | + | [+] |
| 686. Ground level | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| 687. Side or end of house | - | - | - | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| 688. For children | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| 689. For deer, wood | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | [+] | [+] | [+] | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| 690. Draft hole | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 691. Smoke hole | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | (+) | - | - | + | - |
| 692. Ceremonial use only | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 693. Single fireplace | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | [+] | [+] | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| 694. Center of house | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | [+] | [+] | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| 695. Between center and door | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | [+] | - | [+] | [+] | - | - | - | - |
| 696. Between draft hole and center post | - | - | - | - | + | [+] | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 697. Beside main (ground) entrance | - | - | - | - | - | [+] | - | - | [+] | [+] | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 698. On surface or in shallow depression | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | [+] | + | + | - | + | + | + | [+] |
| 699. In definite pit | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | [+] | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| 700. Cooking fire outside dwelling | + | + | [+] | - | - | [+] | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 701. Smoke hole | [+] | + | + | + | - | [+] | + | + | [+] | [+] | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 702. Draft hole in rear of house | - | - | - | + | + | [+] | + | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | . | - | - | - | [+] |
| 703. House ladder | + | + | - | [+] | + | [+] | + | - | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | - | - | [+] | [+] |
| 704. Notched plank or log | - | - | - | [+] | - | - | - | - | - | (+) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 705. 2 poles, rungs tied between | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| 706. Center post as ladder | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | [+] | + | - | - | - | - |
| 707. Crosspieces lashed on | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 708. Interior wall coverings | - | - | - | | + | [+] | + | | [+] | [+] | + | + | - | - | - | + |
| 709. Tule mats | - | - | - | | - | [+] | + | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 710. Hides | - | - | - | | + | - | + | | - | - | + | (+) | - | - | - | - |
| 711. Bark slabs to bank walls | - | - | - | | - | - | - | | [+] | - | - | . | - | - | - | - |
| 712. Planks to bank walls | - | - | - | | - | - | - | | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 713. Bed scaffolds | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | [+] |
| 714. Floor coverings and pallets | + | + | + | [+] | + | + | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 715. Mats | + | + | + | [+] | + | [+] | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| 716. Loose grass or boughs | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| 717. Pine-needle pallet | + | + | - | - | [+] | - | + | - | [+] | + | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 718. Wooden stool | - | - | - | (+) | [+] | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 719. Individually owned | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | [+] | [+] | + | + | + | + | . | [+] [423] |
| 720. Chief nominal owner | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | + | + | . | - |
| 721. Rich man | + | + | - | + | [+] | [+] | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 722. Shaman | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 722a. Communally owned | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | [+] | [+] | - | - | - | - | - | [+] |
| 723. Used as living house | + | [+] | + | [+] | [+] | + | + | - | [+] | [+] | + | + | [+] | - | - | [+] |
| 724. 1-family | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | [+] | + | + | + | - | - | - | + |
| 725. Multifamily | + | + | + | - | + | [+] | [+] | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + |
| 726. To sleep in, only | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| 727. For sleeping, cooking | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | [+] | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| 728. Serves as sweat house | - | (+) | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | + | + | - | [+] |
| 729. Serves as assembly house | + | + | + | [+] | [+] | [+] | + | - | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | + | + | + | [+] [562] |
| 730. Open to both sexes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | [+] | + | + | + | - | - | - |
| 731. Open to men only | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | [+] | - | - | - | + | + | - |
| 732. Women admitted only during ceremonies | - | - | - | [+] | - | - | - | + | + | [+] | - | - | - | - | - | [+] [756] |
| 733. Used for shamanistic activities | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | (+) | (+) | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] | [+] |
| 733a. Winter use mainly | + | + | [+] | - | + | - | [+] | - | - | + | + | [+] | - | - | - | [+] [221] |
| 734. Summer use mainly | - | - | - | - | [+] | - | - | - | - | - | [+] | [+] | - | - | - | - |
| 735. Used throughout year | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | [+] | - | - | + | + | + | [+] |

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| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Clubs** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1055. Stone clubs | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | 411 |
| 1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure) | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | [532] |
| 1057. Paddle-shaped | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1058. Imported | | · | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical | - | - | - | | | | | | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1060. Wooden clubs | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | |
| 1061. Natural limb | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | |
| 1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only | + | + | | | | | | | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | |
| 1063. Ball- or knob-ended | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | |
| 1064. Stone or horn spike insert | - | ·, | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1065. Straight rabbit club | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | |
| 1066. Stone head encased in buckskin | - | (+) | · | - | · | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| **Fighting Spears** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1067. Spear used in war | R | + | + | - | ·, | ·, | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | [726] |
| 1068. Thrust mainly | (+) | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | |
| 1069. Flaked stone point | (+) | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | |
| 1070. Bone or horn point | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| **Daggers, Slings, Bola** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1071. Obsidian knife or dagger | + | + | + | + | + | ·, | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | |
| 1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1073. Hafted wooden handle | - | - | - | - | | | | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | |
| 1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped | - | - | - | | | | | ·, | ·, | ·, | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1074. Sling | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | |
| 1075. Used for war | - | + | · | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | |
| 1076. Used for hunting | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | |
| 1077. Used as toy | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | |
| 1078. Clay shot | - | ·, | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1079. Rocks for shot | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | |
| 1080. Bola | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | · | ·, | ·, | | · | |
| **Armor** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1081. Rod jacket | ·, | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | 714 |
| 1082. Hide tunic, no rods | ·, | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1083. Hide helmet | (+) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1084. Circular rod shield | | - | | | | ·, | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1084a. Hide curtain as shield | - | + | (+) | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| **Household Implements** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Mortars and Pestles** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1085. Bedrock mortar | - | - | - | - | - | ·, | ·, | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | ·, | 412 |
| 1086. Portable stone mortar | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1087. Outside rough hewn | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1088. Outside shaped and smoothed | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1089. Found locally, used commonly | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | |
| 1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | ·, | |
| 1091. Found locally, used by shaman | - | (+) | + | ·, | - | ·, | - | - | - | - | ·, | - | - | - | - | - | [756] |
| 1092. Regarded as animate object | - | - | + | + | | + | - | - | | | | | | | - | ·, | [774] |
| 1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | ·, | - | ·, | + | · | - | - | - | ·, | [773] |
| 1094. Made by myth character | - | - | - | - | - | - | · | - | - | ·, | · | - | - | - | - | ·, | |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
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| 1479. Plant bulb | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | • | – |
| 1480. Mountain balm and milkweed | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | • |
| 1481. Pine pitch | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | . | | . | . | • |
| 1482. Chokecherry tree pitch | + | + | . | + | – | – | + | + | . | • | – | . | . | . | . | – |
| **BODY AND DRESS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Care and Adornment of Person** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Haircut** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1483. Long, past shoulders | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – |
| 1484. Bobbed or shoulder length | – | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | + |
| 1485. Men | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1486. Women | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + |
| 1487. Girls | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + |
| 1488. After death of relative only | – | + | – | • | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1489. Close crop | + | + | + | • | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – |
| 1490. Men | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1491. Women | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | • | + | + | + | + | + | – | – |
| 1492. Girls | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | + | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| 1493. Boys | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1494. Infants | | | • | + | – | – | • | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • |
| 1495. After death of relative only. | + | + | + | + | – | + | • | – | • | + | + | + | + | + | – | – |
| 1496. Bangs on forehead | • | – | – | – | • | – | • | – | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | • |
| 1497. Temple locks, forelock | • | – | – | – | – | – | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1498. Scalp lock | • | • | – | – | – | – | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1499. Hair cut with knife | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – |
| 1500. Hair singed | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | • | – |
| **Coiffure** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1501. Hair hangs loose | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1502. Men | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | – | + | + | – | + | + | + |
| 1503. Women | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – |
| 1504. Boys | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1505. Girls | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – |
| 1506. Hair rolled or bunched on head | – | – | + | • | + | + | • | • | • | • | • | • | + | – | – | • |
| 1507. Men | – | – | • | • | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + |
| 1508. Women | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1509. Hair combed up, 1 tie on top of head, ends up | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | . | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1510. 1 tie around hair, nape of neck | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | . | + | + | – |
| 1511. Men | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – |
| 1512. Women | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | . | . | – |
| 1513. Boys | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | . | . | – |
| 1514. Girls | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1515. Hair parted in middle | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | – | • | – |
| 1516. Part painted red | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1517. Commonly | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1518. Doctors only | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1519. Hair braided, three strand | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | – |
| 1520. 2 braids in front of shoulders, men | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – |
| 1521. 2 braids in front of shoulders, women | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | – |
| 1522. 1 braid down back, men | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1523. 1 braid down back; women, girls | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1524. 2 full-length rolls in front of shoulders | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1525. Men | – | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1526. Women | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1527. Young women | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1528. Girls | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
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| 1689. Dentalia | R | + | + | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1690. Olivella whole shells | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | . | . | + | . |
| 1691. Clamshell disk beads | – | + | + | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1692. Haliotis pieces | – | – | + | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1693. Banjo-shaped haliotis pendant | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1694. Bone tubes | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1695. Deer, coyote, wildcat carpels | – | – | – | | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1696. Pine nuts or shells | (+) | ◔ | + | ◔ | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1697. Braided sweet grass | | o | | | | | + | o | + | + | – | – | o | – | – | – |
| 1698. Wildflowers | R | – | – | ◔ | | ◔ | | | | + | – | + | + | + | + | – |
| 1699. Belts of hair | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1700. Worn by women | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1701. Worn continually | – | – | – | – | | | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1702. Worn on special occasions only | + | + | + | + | | | | | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1703. Flower wreaths on head | . | – | – | ◔ | | – | | + | ◔ | + | – | – | ◔ | + | + | – |
| 1704. Boys and girls, playing | . | – | – | + | | – | | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – |
| 1705. Girls, at girl's puberty dance | R | – | – | – | | – | | | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – |

Cane or Staff

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1706. Straight stick | + | + | + | | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1707. Sharpened at lower end | – | – | + | | | | | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + |
| 1708. Used by old people | + | + | + | | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1709. Old men | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1710. Old women | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1711. Single cane | + | + | + | | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1712. 2 canes, if crippled | | + | + | | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |

Dress

Headgear

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1713. Basketry cap | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | R | + | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1714. Plain twine | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | R | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1715. 3-strand diagonal twine | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | R | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1716. Coiled | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1717. Worn habitually, by women | + | + | + | + | + | ◔ | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1718. Worn habitually, by men | + | – | – | – | – | ◔ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1719. Worn for packing, not worn habitually | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1720. Worn for dances, not worn habitually. | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | R | + | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1721. Designs on cap | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | R | + | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1722. Men's undecorated | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1723. Fur cap | + | + | ◔ | + | + | ◔ | + | + | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1724. Men | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1725. Women | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1726. Buckskin cap | – | + | + | ◔ | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1727. Solid buckskin | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1728. Buckskin pierced with holes | – | – | – | | | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1729. Worn habitually | – | + | + | ◔ | – | – | + | – | ◔ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1730. Band around head | + | + | + | ◔ | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | + | – | ◔ |
| 1731. Buckskin | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1732. Fur | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – |
| 1733. Men only | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – |
| 1734. Doctors only | + | – | – | ◔ | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1735. Eyeshade | ◔ | – | – | – | ◔ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1736. Charcoal around eyes for snow-blindness | + | ◔ | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – |

Robes

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1737. Woven rabbitskin blanket | – | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | ◔ |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1844. Shell embroidery | – | – | ⁘ | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1845. Painted, top front | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1846. Painted, seams | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1847. Slippers | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1848. Woven bark | – | – | – | – | – | – | ⁘ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1849. Tule, twined | ⁘ | ⁘ | ⁘ | – | ⁘ | ⁘ | ⁘ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1850. Sandal | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1851. Hide | – | – | – | – | ⁘ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1852. Bark | – | – | – | – | ⁘ | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1853. Leggings | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1854. Tule, twined | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1855. Fur piece | (+) | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1856. Buckskin | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1857. Sewed | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1858. Fringed | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1859. Painted | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1860. Porcupine-quill decoration | | | | | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1861. Tied at knee and ankle | – | + | + | + | + | ⁘ | ⁘ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1862. Knee-to-ankle length | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1863. Hip-to-knee length | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | (+) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1864. Snowshoes | + | + | ⁘ | ⁘ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | o | + | + | o |
| 1865. Circular | ⁘ | + | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | o | (+) | – | o |
| 1866. Oval | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | o | – | + | o |
| 1867. Kite-shaped | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1868. Lashing withes | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | o | – | + | o |
| 1869. Lashing buckskin | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | + | o | + | – | o |
| 1870. Lashing rawhide | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | o | – | – | o |
| 1871. Lashing of fiber string | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | o | – | – | o |
| **Ceremonial Dress** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1872. Feather garment on net foundation | – | – | – | – | R | • | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1873. Half length | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | • |
| 1874. Tied over shoulders | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1875. Held up by shoulder straps | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1876. Tied under arms | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | – |
| 1877. Full length, neck to ankles | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + |
| 1878. Down-feather ropes or strings | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | – | ⁘ | ⁘ | – | ⁘ | ⁘ |
| 1879. Yellowhammer-quill band | – | – | – | – | ⁘ | • | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1880. Feather tips at intervals | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + |
| 1881. Feathers solid, edge untrimmed | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1881a. Feathers solid, edge trimmed | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – |
| 1882. Worn across forehead | – | – | | | + | – | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1883. Ends extend, side of head | – | – | – | – | – | | | | | | + | + | – | + | + | – |
| 1884. Worn as belt | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | – |
| 1885. Worn as bracelet | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1886. Worn as necklace | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | (+) | + | + | – | – |
| 1887. Worn as bandolier | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – |
| 1888. Worn over head and down back | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + |
| 1889. Decorated with beads | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | – |
| 1890. Used as dance ornament | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – |
| 1891. Used by doctor | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1892. Whole yellowhammer feathers solid on headband | + | + | + | + | ⁘ | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1893. All same direction | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1894. Worn across forehead | – | (-) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1895. Worn as belt | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1896. Worn as bracelet | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1897. Worn as necklace | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1898. Worn in head net | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1899. Worn over head and down back | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
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| 292 237 [754] 1900. Used by doctors only | + | + | + | + | + | ◔ | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1901. Feathers notched at sides | + | + | . | + | + | ◔ | + | – | . | ◔ | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1901a. Decorated with rattlesnake rattles. | | – | – | | | | | | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1902. Woodpecker scalps on band | – | ◔ | + | (+) | + | + | + | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 1903. Buckskin band | – | – | + | (+) | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + |
| 1904. Fur band | – | – | – | – | – | – | ◔ | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | – | – |
| 1905. Woven-fiber band | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | ◔ |
| 1906. Scalps sewn on | – | – | + | (+) | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | . | – | – | – |
| 1907. Scalps tied on | – | – | – | – | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | . | + | – | – |
| 1908. Scalps glued on | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | . | – | – | – |
| 1909. Beaks left on scalps | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1910. Single row of scalps | – | – | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | – |
| 1911. 2 or more rows of scalps | – | – | – | – | ◔ | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1912. Headband | – | – | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + |
| [301] 1913. Belt | – | – | – | – | + | ◔ | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + |
| 1914. Necklace | – | – | + | – | | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| 1915. Bandolier | – | – | + | – | ◔ | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| 1916. Woodpecker scalps in feather headdress. | | | | | | | | | | | | + | – | + | – | + |
| 1917. Woodpecker scalps on head net | – | – | – | – | | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| 1918. Mallard duck neck skins on band | – | – | – | – | – | R | + | – | o | o | + | – | + | o | o | + |
| 1919. Headband | – | – | – | – | – | R | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – |
| 1920. Belt | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | + |
| 1921. Cap | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | ◔ | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – |
| 1922. Bunch of feathers, tied to top of hair | + | + | ◔ | ◔ | + | + | + | – | – | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1923. Topknot headdress | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | + |
| 1924. Whole feathers radiating from crown of buckskin cap | – | – | – | + | + | ◔ | – | – | – | – | – | (+) | – | – | – | – |
| 1925. Feathers tipped with small white feathers | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1926. Buckskin strip down back, feathers attached | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1927. "Big head" feather-tipped radiating stick headdress | – | – | R | – | ◔ | R | – | R | – | R | – | + | – | + | – | + |
| 1928. Feather plumes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | R | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1929. Single primary or tail feather | + | ◔ | – | + | + | + | + | + | ◔ | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | – |
| 1930. 2 primary or tail feathers | | | + | | | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | . | – |
| 1931. Woodpecker scalp on feather | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| 1932. Shells, cedar, small feathers attached | | | | | | | | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1933. Used by doctor | – | – | – | | + | | | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1934. Spliced | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | . | + |
| †1935. Forked ... times. | – | – | – | – | 2 | 2 | 2 | – | – | – | 2 | 2 | – | 2 | . | 2 |
| 1936. Twisted sinew body | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | . | . | + |
| 1937. Stick base | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | . | + |
| 1938. Feathers bunched at fork or top of base | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | . | . | + |
| 1939. Yellowhammer-quill attachment | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | . | + |
| 1940. Yellowhammer feathers attached. | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | . | – |
| 1941. Worn on head | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | (–) | – | + | + | – | + | . | + |
| 1942. Hand-held | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | R | R | – | – | – | – | . | – |
| 1943. Fur headband or blind | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1944. Feathers suspended from lower edge | – | – | – | – | – | ◔ | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 1945. Visor | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1946. Head net | – | – | – | – | + | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | – | + |
| 292 1947. Flowing down back | – | – | – | – | + | ◔ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| 1948. Close woven | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| 1949. Open woven | – | – | – | – | + | ◔ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1950. Feathers at bottom | – | – | – | – | + | ◔ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| 1951. All on head | – | – | – | – | + | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | + |
| 1952. Bag type | – | – | – | – | + | ◔ | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 1953. Hammock type | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | + | – | + |
| 1954. Down-filled | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | + | – | + |
| 1955. Down tied on back part | – | – | – | – | + | ◔ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
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| **Preparation** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2049. Stalk hung up to dry | + | – | + | + | – | – | + | ± | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | – |
| 2050. Leaves dried, whole | + | + | + | | + | + | + | ± | + | + | + | – | | | | |
| 2051. Leaves rubbed and hung to dry in sack | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | – | + | + |
| 2052. Leaves only, used | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | + |
| 2053. Leaves rubbed fine in palm, with fingertips | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2054. Dried leaves put in sack, pounded on slab | + | + | – | ± | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| o2055. Tobacco mixed for smoking | | . | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| o2056. Kinnikinick, manzanita mixtures | + | + | + | ± | + | + | + | – | – | ± | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2057. Grease added | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | + | + | – | – | + | ± | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| **Tobacco Containers** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2058. Basket | – | – | – | – | – | ± | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| 2059. Buckskin pouch | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | – |
| 2060. Cased-fur pouch | – | + | – | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + |
| **Tobacco Substitutes** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2061. Plant substitutes used occasionally | – | – | + | | | | | ± | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2062. Manzanita | – | – | + | | | | | – | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2063. Parched and ground | – | – | + | | | | | – | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| **Uses** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2064. Smoking at social gatherings | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2065. Pipe passed | + | ± | + | + | + | ± | ± | + | ± | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2066. Smoking after sweating | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | – |
| 2067. Bedtime smoking | + | + | + | + | + | ± | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2068. No smoking in dwelling house | – | – | – | ± | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2069. Men smoke, generally | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ± |
| 2070. Smoking limited among women; shamans mainly | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | – |
| 2071. Tobacco chewed | – | ± | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | ± | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| o2072. Tobacco as offering | ± | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | ± | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2073. Tossed or blown in air | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – |
| 2074. Burnt in fire | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | (+) | – | – | – | – |
| 2075. Smoked | – | + | + | + | + | ± | + | – | ± | ± | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **MUSIC AND DRAWING** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Musical Instruments** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Drums** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2076. Hide drum | R | + | ± | ± | + | R | ± | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2077. Cylindrical | R | + | + | + | + | R | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2078. 2-headed | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2079. 1-headed | R | + | – | – | + | R | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2080. Tambourine type | R | + | – | – | + | R | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2081. Drumstick wrapped at head | R | + | – | + | + | R | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2082. Plain drumstick, knot for head | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2083. Footdrum | – | – | R | – | – | – | – | – | R | R | + | + | + | + | + | ± |
| 2084. Basket drummed | – | – | – | – | + | ± | – | – | – | – | ± | ± | ± | ± | ± | ± |
| **Rattles** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2085. Cocoon rattle | ± | – | – | ± | ± | ± | ± | ± | – | R | ± | ± | ± | ± | ± | ± |
| 2086. Stick handle | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | R | + | + | + | + | + | + |

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| 534 2087. Feathers on stick handle | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2088. Number of cocoons | – | – | – | – | 3 | 5 | 6 | – | – | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 5 |
| [756] 2089. Used by shaman in curing | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | + |
| 2090. Used by Big Head singers | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | R | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 2091. Used for any singing or dancing | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – |
| [787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit | | | | | | | | | | – | + | + | + | – | – | – |
| 2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy | – | – | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2094. Split-stick clapper | R | – | R | – | + | R | + | + | R | R | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2095. Single split | R | – | R | – | + | R | + | R | R | R | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2096. Multiple splits | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2097. Painted | – | – | R | – | – | – | – | R | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| [891] 2098. Burned decoration | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| [535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| [720] 2100. For war dance | – | – | – | – | | | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| [796] 2101. For Ghost dance | – | – | R | – | | R | | R | R | R | – | – | – | – | – | + |
| 2102. For any singing or dancing | – | – | – | – | + | R | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | + |
| 2103. Snake rattles on stick | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2104. Deer-hoof rattle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – |
| 2105. Stick handle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – |
| 2106. On cord or thong, no handle | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2107. Worn | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| [881] 2108. Number of hoofs | 10 | 20 | 7 | 15 | 20 | 20 | 20 | – | 25 | 8 | 20 | 1 | 2 | 4 | – | – |
| 2109. For girl's puberty | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – |
| 2110. For any singing or dancing | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2111. Basket rattle | – | | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| [524] 2112. Child's toy | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2113. Beads tied together, child's toy | R | + | – | | | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – | – | – |
| **Rasp** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2114. Notched-wood rasp | | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2115. Basket scraped | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – |
| **Bull-roarer, Musical Bow** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2116. Bull-roarer | R | – | – | – | | – | + | + | – | R | – | – | – | – | – | + |
| 2117. Wood | R | – | – | – | | – | – | + | – | R | – | – | – | – | – | + |
| [789] 2118. Bone or horn | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| [753] 2119. Produces storm or wind | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| [756] 2120. Produces sickness | – | – | – | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2121. Only shamans use | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| [562] 2122. Only boys, men use | – | – | – | – | R | | | + | – | R | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2123. For amusement, boys | R | – | – | – | R | – | – | + | – | R | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2124. Musical bow | | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | . | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2125. Hunting bow | | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | . | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2126. Separate instrument | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 2127. Played with finger | – | + | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| [562] 2128. Played with stick | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2129. Boys only | | | | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| **Whistles and Flutes** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2130. Whistle | – | | + | | + | + | + | R | R | | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2131. Single hole | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | R | R | | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| 2133. Bone | – | . | + | + | + | + | + | R | R | | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 2134. Bird or rodent | – | . | + | + | + | + | + | R | R | | + | – | + | – | – | + |
| 2135. Large mammal | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | – |
| 2136. Elder | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | R | – | R | – | – | – | + | + | – |
| 2137. Cane | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MP | NP | NM | NS | MV | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece | – | + | – | + | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 534 |
| o2139. End stopped | – | + | – | + | + | – | + | R | R | + | ± | + | . | + | + | + | |
| 2140. Partially stopped inside at hole | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | R | R | + | + | + | + | + | . | + | |
| 2141. Stop of pitch | – | . | + | + | – | + | + | R | R | + | – | – | + | + | . | + | |
| 2142. Stop of salmon glue | – | . | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2143. Stop of wood | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | . | – | |
| 2144. Single whistle | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | R | R | + | – | – | + | – | + | – | |
| 2145. 2 whistles bound together | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | R | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | + | |
| 2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck | – | – | + | | | | | | | | + | + | + | + | . | + | |
| 2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush | | + | + | | | | | | | | + | – | + | + | – | + | 784 |
| 2148. Snake will strike whistler. | | + | + | | | | | | | | + | – | + | + | – | + | |
| 2149. Flute | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | . | + | |
| 2150. Bone | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | . | – | |
| 2151. Elder | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | . | + | |
| 2152. Cane | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| ‡2153. Number of holes | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | – | 6 | |
| 2154. Holes burnt in | | + | + | | | | | | R | R | + | + | – | + | – | + | |
| 2155. Holes put in with awl | | | | | | | | | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | |
| 2156. Entire upper surface flattened | | | – | | | | | | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2157. End blown | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | (2) | – | . | – | – | + | |
| 2158. Side blown | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | |
| 2159. Mouth blown | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | |
| 2160. Nose blown | – | – | ½ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2161. Used by shaman | – | ½ | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | 756 ● |
| 2162. Used for courting | – | ½ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | |
| 2163. Used for self-amusement | ½ | – | + | ½ | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | |
| Pictographs, Petroglyphs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area. | ½ | ½ | – | – | ½ | – | ½ | ½ | ½ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 532 |
| 2165. Nonhuman origin | + | + | – | – | + | – | + | . | . | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2166. Made by tiny people | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2167. Made by mythological characters | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer | – | – | – | – | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 777 |
| 2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks | – | ½ | ½ | | | | | | | ½ | – | ½ | ½ | – | ½ | | 823 |
| RECREATION | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Games | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Shinny | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2170. Shinny played | + | + | + | + | + | R | + | + | + | ½ | + | + | + | + | – | + | 526 |
| 2171. Men, youths play occasionally | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | 567 |
| 2172. Women play | + | + | + | ½ | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | + | |
| 2173. Each sex plays separately | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | |
| 2174. Both sexes play together | + | – | – | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2175. Children play | – | + | – | + | + | ½ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 809 |
| 2176. Single ball | – | – | – | – | – | ½ | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | |
| 2177. Wood | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2178. Stuffed buckskin | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | |
| 2179. Oak gall | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | |
| 2180. Double ball | – | + | + | + | – | ½ | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | |
| 2181. Stuffed buckskin | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | ½ | ½ | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | |
| 2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | |
| 2184. Cord or hide strip only | – | – | – | – | + | ½ | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | |

| | K1 | Mo | SK | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Participants** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Groups Involved** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2790. Autonomous group alone | + | + | – | + | – | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | 721 |
| 2791. Autonomous group plus allies | + | + | + | + | ◦ | + | + | ◦ | + | + | ◦ | + | – | – | 726 |
| **Combatants** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2792. All able-bodied men of group | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | ◦ | – | 726 |
| 2793. Sometimes only limited number | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | |
| 2794. Some men stay to protect women | (+) | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | 701 |
| 2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid | ◦ | – | + | – | ◦ | + | ◦ | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | |
| 2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war | – | – | – | – | ◦ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| **Leaders** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party | ± | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | ± | ◦ | ◦ | + | + | + | |
| o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle | – | + | – | ◦ | ◦ | – | ± | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | |
| o2799. Chief stays home | ± | – | + | ◦ | – | + | – | – | ± | + | + | – | – | – | |
| o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief | ± | ± | + | + | + | – | + | – | ± | – | + | – | – | – | |
| 2801. Selected by chief | – | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2802. Chosen at popular assembly | + | + | – | ◦ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 2803. Chosen on basis of competency | ◦ | + | – | + | + | + | + | ◦ | ◦ | – | ◦ | – | – | – | |
| 2804. Holds office until physically disabled | – | + | – | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | |
| 2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually | – | – | – | | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | |
| 2806. Shaman goes to war | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | [756] |
| 2807. Occasionally only | – | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | |
| **Preparation** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Prognostication** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2808. Prediction of deaths in war | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | . | – | – | 726 |
| 2809. By war leader, through dreams | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | . | – | – | [787] |
| 2810. By shaman | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | ◦ | + | – | – | . | – | – | [756] |
| 2811. Dreams | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | . | – | – | |
| 2812. Shaman tests contestants | ◦ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | . | – | – | |
| 2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death | – | – | + | | | | | | | + | + | . | – | – | |
| **Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter | – | + | + | – | ◦ | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | [756] |
| 2815. "Charms" enemy | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | |
| 2816. "Poisons" enemy | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | |
| 2817. Formulas against enemy | – | ◦ | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | |
| 2818. Shaman sings during fighting | | | | | ◦ | | | – | – | . | + | + | + | – | |
| 2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition | + | + | + | + | | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | |
| **Practice Fighting** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows | + | (+) | . | | | | | ◦ | + | + | + | – | + | – | |
| 2821. Night before fight | + | (+) | . | | | | | + | + | + | + | – | – | | |
| 2822. In daytime | – | – | | | | | | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | |
| **War Dance** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2823. War dance of incitement | ◦ | ◦ | + | + | – | – | + | ◦ | + | – | + | – | – | – | [535] |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2872. Body left unburied, unburned | - | - | - | - | | | | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | 727 |
| 2873. Women captives enslaved | ◦ | (-) | + | ◦ | - | ◦ | - | + | + | ◦ | - | - | - | - | |
| 2874. Violated | + | (-) | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | [562] |
| o2875. Married | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | |
| 2876. Child captives killed | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | ◦ | - | |
| 2877. Kept for month or so | - | - | - | - | | | | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | [858] |
| 2878. Abused | - | - | - | - | | | | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | |
| 2879. Body left unburied, unburned | - | - | - | - | | | | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 2880. Child captives enslaved | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | |
| 2881. Adopted | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | [597] |
| **Booty and Scalps** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2882. Booty taken | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | |
| 2883. Bows of slain kept | + | + | + | + | ◦ | + | - | + | + | - | - | (+) | ◦ | - | |
| 2884. Scalps taken | + | + | + | ◦ | + | + | + | ◦ | + | + | + | - | ◦ | ◦ | |
| 2885. Scalp dried on frame | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | ◦ | - | |
| 2886. Special custodian for scalp | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 2887. Scalp kept permanently | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 2888. Scalp thrown away | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | (+) | - | - | - | |
| 2889. Scalp burnt | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | (+) | + | (+) | - | + | - | |
| 2890. Whole head taken | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | |
| 2891. Fingers taken | + | - | + | - | | | | | | | - | - | - | - | |
| 2892. Heart cut out, taken | + | - | + | - | | | | | + | . | - | - | - | - | |
| **Behavior of Noncombatants** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Women's Dance** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2893. Women dance while warriors away | - | + | + | | ◦ | + | + | - | - | + | + | . | - | - | 722 |
| 2894. Each day or night | - | + | + | | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | . | - | - | |
| 2895. Sing, pray to help men at war | - | + | + | | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | . | - | - | 535 |
| 2896. Each woman dances separately | - | - | - | | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | . | - | - | 562 |
| 2897. Round dance | - | - | - | | - | + | - | - | - | . | - | . | - | - | |
| 2898. Dance abreast | - | + | + | | - | | + | - | - | . | - | . | - | - | |
| 2899. Outside | - | + | + | | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | . | - | - | |
| 2900. Woman singer | - | + | + | | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | . | - | - | |
| 2901. Male singer | - | - | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | . | - | - | |
| 2902. Flint "rattle," on basket cups | - | | + | | | | | - | - | - | - | . | - | - | |
| 2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle | - | - | + | | | | | - | - | - | - | . | - | - | |
| 2904. No rattle used | - | (+) | - | | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | . | - | - | |
| 2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts | - | + | + | | - | | + | - | - | - | - | . | - | - | |
| 2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand | - | - | + | | ◦ | | | - | - | + | + | . | - | - | |
| **Prognostications** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt | - | - | . | | | | | | | + | + | . | - | - | [787] |
| 2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress | - | - | . | | | | | | + | - | + | . | + | - | [54] |
| **Return of War Party** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Victory Dance** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2908a. Victory (scalp) dance | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | (-) | ◦ | - | 727 |
| 2909. Held in or near village | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | 535 |
| 2910. Held in brush corral | - | - | + | | | | | | | | - | - | - | - | |
| 2911. All men dance | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | [562] |
| 2912. Warriors only, among men, dance | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 2913. Women dance | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **CYCLE OF LIFE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Birth Customs** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 844 **Preparations for Delivery** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3007. Delivery in special hut | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | (+) | + |
| 3008. Delivery in dwelling house | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – |
| 3009. Ground prepared for delivery | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3009a. Trench dug | – | (+) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 3010. Ground warmed | – | + | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | + |
| 3011. Grass bed | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| 3012. Pine needles, tules, leaves for bed | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **Delivery** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3013. Parturient assisted during delivery | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| [750] 3014. By professional midwife | + | (+) | – | – | – | (+) | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + |
| 3015. Midwife paid | + | + | – | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + |
| 3016. By female relative | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + |
| [756] 3017. By husband | + | + | – | – | – | – | (+) | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – |
| 3018. By shaman | – | – | – | (+) | – | (+) | – | (+) | (+) | (+) | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| 3019. By female herbalist | – | – | – | (+) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – |
| 3020. Birth aided by medicine | – | (+) | – | (+) | + | (+) | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | (+) | + |
| [278] 3021. Vegetable decoction drunk, sometimes | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | (+) | (+) | + | – | (+) | + |
| 3022. Decoction of ashes drunk | – | – | – | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 3023. Water blown on parturient's head | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | (+) | + | – | – | – |
| [514] 3024. Parturient kneels | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – |
| 3025. Parturient squats | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | + | + |
| 3026. Parturient sits down, leaning backward | – | – | – | | | (+) | | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | (+) | – |
| 3027. Parturient lies on back | – | – | – | – | | (+) | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | + |
| 3028. Grasps stakes | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | + | + |
| 3029. Grasps cord | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 3030. Steadies self with hands | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – |
| 3031. Holding or handling of parturient | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3032. Massaged | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3033. Shaken | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – |
| 3034. Held by attendant, from behind | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3035. Abdomen pressed, if slow birth | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + |
| 3036. Held suspended, head down | | (+) | (+) | | | | | | | (+) | – | (+) | (+) | | (+) | – |
| 3037. Attempts made to hasten birth | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + |
| 3038. Child "coaxed" by speech or songs | – | – | – | – | (+) | – | (+) | (+) | + | (+) | . | – | – | – | (+) | – |
| 3039. Child "frightened" by noise | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 3040. Child squeezed out | – | – | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | (+) | – | + | – | (+) |
| 3041. Child "shaken" out | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| **Afterbirth** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3042. Assistance in expelling afterbirth | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3043. Husband aids; tries to shake it out | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| 3044. Poor couples only | – | – | – | – | – | (+) | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 3045. Parturient's abdomen pressed | – | – | – | | | | | | (+) | (+) | – | (+) | (+) | (+) | (+) | (+) |
| 3046. Afterbirth sometimes taken out with hands | – | – | + | | | | | | | | . | + | . | – | – | – |
| 3047. Womb pushed back with heel | | | | | | | | | | | | | – | + | + | – |
| 3048. Afterbirth disposed of immediately after delivery | + | + | – | | | | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3049. Afterbirth kept until naval cord drops off | – | – | + | | | | (+) | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – |
| 3050. Afterbirth wrapped | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3051. Skin | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | . | + | + | + | – | – | – |

| | | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 84 82 | 3606a. Belt given attendant | – | – | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance. | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3608. Public rites: major dance | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 84 | 3609. Night dance | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | + | ◦ | ◦ | + | + | – | ◦ | – | ◦ |
| 88 535 | 3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – |
| | 3610. Day dance | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | ◦ | – | – | – |
| | 3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | . | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | (–) |
| [787] | 3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s) | ◦ | ◦ | + | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | + | ◦ | ◦ | . | + | + | ◦ | + | – | ◦ |
| | 3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | ‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days | 5 | 5 | 8 | 10 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 5 | – | 1 |
| | ‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses. | 5 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | – | 1 | – | 5 | – | – |
| | 3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + |
| | 3617. Held in sweat house, winter | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| | 3618. Held outside, summer or winter | – | – | ◦ | ◦ | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – |
| | 3619. Held outside, summer only | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | + |
| | 3620. Rainy weather, no dance | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | . | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – |
| | 3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut | – | – | – | – | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3622. Girl's family in charge | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | ◦ | – | – | – | – | + |
| | 3623. Old man in charge | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | ◦ | – | + | – | + | – | – |
| [754] | 3623a. Singers in charge | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | – | – |
| | 3624. Shaman in charge | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3625. Youths, men participate | + | ◦ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | + |
| | 3626. Girls, women participate | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| | 3626a. Girl's suitor may participate | – | – | – | | | | + | – | + | + | . | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| | 3628. Girl dances by self, near group | + | + | + | – | + | + | ◦ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | ◦ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3630. Girl dances with group | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| | ◦3631. Girl dances each night | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ◦ | + | – | + | – | – |
| | 3632. Youths dance | – | – | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | + |
| | 3633. Men dance | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | + |
| | 3634. Old men dance | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | + |
| | 3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant | – | – | – | | | | ◦ | – | – | ◦ | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3636. Women, girls dance | – | – | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| | 3637. Menstruant dances beside fire | + | + | ◦ | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3638. Menstruant dances back and forth | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| | 3639. Menstruant dances east to west | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| | 3640. Menstruant faces E continually | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – |
| | 3641. Menstruant rests at intervals | + | + | + | ◦ | + | – | – | + | + | + | ◦ | + | – | – | – | + |
| | 3642. Men, women dance separately | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3643. Men, women dance together | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – |
| | 3644. Men, women in 1 circle | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | + |
| | 3645. Men, women in 2 circles | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| | 3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3648. Clockwise start | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | . | + | + | – | + |
| | 3649. Counterclockwise start | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | – | . | – | – | – | – |
| | 3650. Dance proceeds around pit | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| | 3651. Dance proceeds around fire | – | – | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – |
| [533] [562] | 3652. Singers mainly women | + | ◦ | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | ◦ | ◦ | – | ◦ |
| | 3653. Singers mainly men | – | – | – | – | + | ◦ | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3654. Volunteer singers, men and women | ◦ | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 3655. Professional singers | + | + | – | | | | | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | + |
| | 3656. 1 singer paid | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | . | – | – | – | – |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | NV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | ◦+ | - | - | - | . | - | - | - | - |
| 3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | . | + | - | - | - |
| 3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law | - | - | - | - | | ◦+ | + | + | - | + | - | . | - | - | - | - |
| 3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | . | + | - | - | + |
| 3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man | + | + | + | | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| [54] 3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband | - | - | - | ◦- | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3981. Man sells wife to male bidder | ◦+ | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents | - | - | + | + | - | ± | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents | - | - | - | - | - | ± | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **Intercourse** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse | - | - | + | - | - | - | | (+) | - | - | . | . | ◦+ | . | . | . |
| 3985. Natural position lying on side | . | . | + | | | | | | | | | | ◦+ | | | |
| 3986. Kissing unknown | + | + | . | . | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| [152] 192 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children | + | + | - | | + | ◦+ | ◦+ | + | + | + | . | - | + | + | - | - |
| 3988. Virginity tests | . | . | ◦- | | | | ◦+ | ◦+ | - | . | . | . | - | . | . | . |
| **Promiscuity** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 836 3989. Promiscuity any time | ◦- | - | + | + | - | | + | + | - | + | . | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3990. At dances chiefly | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | ◦+ | - | . | + | - | - | + | - |
| 3991. Promiscuity denied by informant | ◦- | - | ◦- | - | ◦- | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - |
| 836 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten | | + | + | | | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - |
| 848 3994. Father of bastard punished | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + |
| 3995. Killed by girl's relatives | | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | - |
| 3996. Obligated to marry girl | ◦+ | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 3997. Might marry girl, not obligated | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | ◦+ | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| 3998. Payment for girl | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| **Transvestites** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Male** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group | + | ◦- | + | ◦+ | ◦+ | - | + | + | + | + | ◦- | - | - | ◦- | . | ◦- |
| 4000. Sweat with women | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | (+) | - | - | . | - |
| 4001. Perform women's work | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | (+) | - | - | - | - |
| 4002. Wear women's clothes | + | - | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | (+) | - | - | - | - |
| 4003. Live with normal man | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | . | - | - | - | - |
| [75] 4004. Special functions at funerals | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | . | - | - | - | - |
| 4005. Some are shamans | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | (+) | - | - | . | - |
| 4006. Nursing in war | | - | - | | | - | + | - | - | - | - | . | - | - | . | - |
| 4007. Regarded indifferently by community | + | - | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | . | - | - | - | - |
| 4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty | - | | + | | | (+) | | + | + | + | - | . | - | - | - | - |
| [87] 4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life | + | - | - | | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | . | - | - | - | - |
| 4010. Act upon dream | - | ◦- | - | | | + | + | - | - | - | - | . | - | - | - | - |
| **Female** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ◦4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group | + | - | + | - | ◦+ | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | . | - |
| 4012. Live with women | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 4012a. Live with man | | | - | | | | | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 4012b. Wear woman's clothes | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | . | - |
| [756] 4013. Some are shamans | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

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| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4632. Contains poison or doctor's pain inside it | + | + | ° | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | . | . | – |
| 4633. Contains spirit (or person?) inside it | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | ° | + | – | – | ° | . | + | ° |
| 4634. Malignant activities of whirlwind | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | . | + | + |
| 4635. Sickens persons with bad dreams | + | ° | ° | | + | – | ° | ° | ° | ° | + | + | ° | . | + | + |
| 4636. Puts "pain" in person | + | + | + | – | | | | | | | + | + | – | . | – | – |
| 4637. Catches person's shadow or spirit | – | + | – | | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | . | – | – |
| 4638. Causes person to have accident, die | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | . | – | – |
| 4639. Gives power for doctoring, occasionally | – | + | | | ° | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | . | . | – |
| 4640. Precautions against whirlwind | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | . | + | + |
| 4641. Try to hide from, dodge it | + | + | + | – | ° | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | ° | . | ° | – |
| 4642. Throw dirt, water at it | – | + | + | | ° | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | ° | . | ° | – |
| 4643. Talk to it, informally | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | + |
| 4644. Smoke when talking to it | – | + | + | | | | | | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – |
| 4645. Clap hands, stomp feet | – | + | + | | | | | | | | – | – | – | . | – | – |
| 4646. Smoke victim of whirlwind | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | + | – |
| 4646a. Mourners who dream of whirlwind doctored | – | + | – | | | | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | . | – | – |
| **Rain and Storms** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4647. Nonshamanistic beliefs concerning rain | . | . | . | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| 4648. Rolling rocks down hill causes rain | | | | + | + | – | + | – | ° | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4649. Shouting in mountains causes rain | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | (+) | | – | – |
| 4650. Sprinkles a little after funeral naturally | + | + | . | | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| 4651. Nonshamanistic measures for stopping rain | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | – |
| 4652. Pinch dog's ear | – | – | ° | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 4653. Old men wave lighted brands | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + |
| 4654. Flies and yellow jackets burnt | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| **Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Characteristics of Ghost or Spirit** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 775 4655. Visible to anyone | + | + | ° | ° | ° | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + |
| 4656. Resembles person | – | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | ° | – | + | – | + | + | + |
| 4657. Resembles skeleton, shadow, fog, or cloud | ° | – | – | – | – | – | ° | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 4658. Audible to anyone | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| [756] 4659. Shamans chiefly | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 4660. Wails, whistles | – | – | – | | | | | | | + | – | + | + | + | – | + |
| **Activities of Ghosts or Spirits** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4661. Leaves body shortly before death | – | – | ° | ° | | | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 4662. Leaves body immediately after death | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 4663. Leaves grave, pyre ... days after death | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 3 | 28 | 8 | – | – | 3 | 4 | 4 | – |
| 4664. Leaves pyre night of cremation | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 4665. Turns back once after leaving body | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | – | – | – | – |
| 4666. Retraces steps person has taken when alive | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | – | + | + |
| 4667. Departs toward distant place | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + |
| 4668. Toward west | ° | + | + | ° | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 4669. To assembly house in mountains, sky | | | | | | | | | ° | | | | – | + | . | – |
| 4670. Up to sky | + | + | + | + | + | – | . | + | + | + | – | + | | ° | | ° |
| 4671. Along Milky Way | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | . | – | + |
| 4672. Across water, river | + | + | – | – | + | – | . | – | – | + | – | – | + | + | + | – |
| 4673. On bridge | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | + | – |
| 4674. If get dizzy crossing, turn into coyote | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | + | – |

| | K1 | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | KF | KM | KS | KY |
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| **Shamanism** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Sucking Doctors: Personnel** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4792a. Sucking doctors recognized | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| [561] 4793. Men only | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | + | + |
| 4794. Mainly men, few women | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | | – | – |
| 4795. Mainly women, few men | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4796. Both sexes, about equal | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4797. Men can cure and sicken | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | – |
| 4798. Women's powers equal to male doctors' | – | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4799. Stronger | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4800. More limited | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | | – | – |
| 4801. Can only cure; no sickening | – | . | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | % | % | + | | – | – |
| 4802. Mainly send illness | + | . | – | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| **Sucking Doctors: Acquisition of Power** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4803. Shamanistic power inherited | + | % | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | % | + | + | | + | % |
| 4804. Before relative's death, paternal or maternal | + | % | – | + | % | % | % | + | – | – | – | + | + | | % | + |
| 4805. After relative's death, paternal or maternal | | % | + | + | + | % | % | + | % | + | + | – | – | | – | – |
| %4806. Dependent on power's or "pain's" willingness | | % | | | % | % | % | | | | % | + | + | | – | – |
| 4807. Shamanistic power acquired unsought | – | % | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | – | % |
| 4808. While in conscious state | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | + | + | . | | – | + |
| 4809. While ill | – | – | – | (+) | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4810. During trance or faint | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | | – | + |
| †4811. Sick for ... days | – | – | – | % | o | – | o | 1 | 1 | – | – | + | + | | – | % |
| o4812. Sick for ... years | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | 1 | | – | % |
| 4813. In dream when adult | – | + | % | + | + | % | % | – | + | + | + | + | + | | – | + |
| 4814. In dream before puberty, anytime | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | | – | – |
| 4815. Novice bleeds | – | + | % | – | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | – | % | | – | + |
| †4816. Novice dances for ... nights after apparition | – | | 2 | 5 | – | – | – | 1 | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4817. Alone | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4818. Smokes when dancing | – | – | + | | | | | | | | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4819. Sings | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4820. Nonacceptance of power dangerous | + | + | + | + | + | % | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | | – | – |
| 4821. May involve sickness, death | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | | – | – |
| 4822. Legitimate methods of refusing power | | + | | | % | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | . | | – | % |
| 4823. Eat fresh food | | | – | | | | | % | % | – | % | – | . | | – | – |
| 4824. Put ashes on body | – | % | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4825. "Pain" may leave of own accord | | | – | | | | | | + | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4825a. Shaman sometimes cures sufferer | | | – | | | | + | – | + | + | + | + | . | | – | – |
| 4826. Shamanistic power acquired during vision quest | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | % | – | – | + | + | + | | – | – |
| 4827. Shamanistic power acquired during group initiatory dance | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4828. Held in open-fire sweat house | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4829. Novices instructed | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | | % | % |
| 4830. By older shaman | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | (+) | (+) | – | + | + | + | | + | % |
| 4831. In sweat house | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | | – | + |
| 4832. In open | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | | + | – |
| 4833. Novice acquires "pain" or poison object | + | % | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | | – | – |
| %4834. Animate; can move, talk | % | ± | % | % | % | % | % | + | + | + | + | + | – | | – | – |
| 4835. Pain calls possessor "father" or "mother" | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | . | + | – | | – | – |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV | |
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| o4836. Number | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | | - | - | 756 |
| 4836a. Indefinite; many | - | + | - | + | + | | | | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 4837. Kept outside shaman's body | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | | - | - | |
| 4838. Kept inside shaman's body | - | - | ◔ | ◔ | - | - | - | ◔ | ◔ | ◔ | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 4839. Novice acquires guardian spirit helper from natural phenomena, fauna | ◔ | ◔ | ◔ | ◔ | ◔ | ◔ | ◔ | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | + | [81] |
| 4840. Sun | - | + | . | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | | - | . | |
| 4841. Moon | - | + | . | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | | - | . | |
| 4842. Wind | | + | . | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | | - | . | |
| 4843. Thunder | + | + | . | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | | - | . | |
| 4844. Lightning | | | | | | | | + | + | + | . | + | - | | - | . | |
| 4845. Fire | | + | . | + | | + | + | - | + | + | . | + | - | | - | . | |
| 4846. Animals, all kinds | + | + | . | ◔ | + | + | + | ◔ | - | + | + | - | - | | - | - | [825] |
| 4847. Coyote mainly | - | - | + | + | | | | | | | + | + | - | | - | - | |
| 4848. Wolf, only or mainly | - | - | - | + | | | | + | + | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 4849. Birds | + | + | . | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | (+) | |
| 4850. Eagle | | | | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | | - | . | |
| 4851. Chicken hawk | + | + | . | + | + | | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | | - | . | |
| 4852. Small birds | | | | | | | | + | + | - | + | + | - | | - | . | |
| 4853. Reptiles | + | + | . | ◔ | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | | - | ◔ | |
| 4854. Fish | + | + | . | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | . | + | - | | - | . | |
| 4855. Frog | + | + | . | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | | - | . | |
| 4856. Favorite, best power | - | + | . | + | - | + | ◔ | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | . | |
| 4857. Insects | | | | | | | | + | - | + | + | - | - | | - | . | |
| 4858. Ghosts or spirits | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | | - | . | [775] |
| 4859. Doctor gets power from several guardian spirits, successively | + | + | . | | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | (-) | - | | - | . | 775 |
| 4860. After power from "pain" acquired | | | | | | | | | | | + | (-) | - | | - | . | 756 |
| 4861. Guardian spirits communicate with novice | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | + | |
| 4862. Are visible to novice | - | - | . | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | | - | + | |
| 4863. Are audible | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | + | |
| 4864. Can be felt | - | - | . | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | | - | - | |
| 4865. Give song | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | + | |
| 4866. Novice, in training sings by himself | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | | - | - | |
| 4867. Give paint | | + | - | - | - | - | | + | + | + | . | + | - | | - | - | |
| 4868. Give dance | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | | - | - | |
| 4869. Instruct as to paraphernalia, curing methods | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | | - | + | |
| 4870. Novice acquires feathers, feather flags | . | ◔ | ◔ | ◔ | ◔ | + | + | - | ◔ | + | + | + | - | | . | - | |
| 4871. Must be kept outside house | | + | + | + | ◔ | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | | . | - | |
| 4872. Kept in hollow tree when not in use | | - | + | + | ◔ | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | | . | - | |
| 4873. Novice keeps fact he has power secret | - | - | - | - | ◔ | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | | + | + | 756 |
| **Sucking Doctors: Doctor-Making Rites** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4874. Doctor-making rites for sucking doctors | + | + | ◔ | ◔ | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | - | |
| o4874a. Rites last ... days and nights | (1) | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 2 | | 4 | - | |
| ‡4875. For ... nights | + | 5 | 3 | 5 | - | - | - | + | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | + | | + | - | |
| 4876. Novices assisted by older shamans | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | - | |
| 4877. Doctor dance | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | - | + | + | + | - | - | ◔ | | (+) | - | 756 |
| 4878. Held irregularly | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | | (+) | - | 535 |
| 4878a. Held immediately before, after vision attained | - | - | ◔ | ◔ | + | + | + | ◔ | ◔ | ◔ | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 4879. After specified objects collected | - | - | ◔ | ◔ | - | (+) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| †4880. Repeated yearly for ... yrs. | - | - | 3 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 4881. Given in winter only | + | + | - | ◔ | - | ◔ | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 756 535 4881a. Given in summer only | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | •– | – | – | + | | – | – |
| 4882. In open fire sweat house | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4883. In dwelling house | + | + | – | – | + | (+) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4883a. In open | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | | + | – |
| 4884. Shaman in charge | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | | + | – |
| 4885. Novice doctor dances alone | – | – | •+ | •+ | •– | (+) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4886. All shamans dance | •+ | + | – | •+ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | | (+) | – |
| 4887. All men except novice dance | – | (+) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4888. All prepubescent boys, girls, adults dance | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4889. One time only | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4890. Dance in 1 spot | •+ | + | – | – | | | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | | . | – |
| 4891. Informal dance; jump around | | | | | | | | + | + | + | – | – | – | | . | – |
| 4892. Room dark | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4893. Small fire for light | + | + | + | – | | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | | + | – |
| [533] 4894. All or anyone sings | – | – | •+ | •+ | – | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4895. Man, women lie on back before dance; sing | | | – | | – | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4896. Women sing | •+ | + | •+ | •+ | – | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4897. Some men sing | + | + | •+ | •+ | – | + | – | + | – | + | – | – | + | | (+) | – |
| 4898. Singers kick on floor planks | + | + | •+ | •+ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4899. Sit on stools, pieces of wood | – | – | •+ | •+ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4900. Outside speaker calls spirits to sweat house | + | + | •+ | | – | | | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4901. Novice(s) bleed at mouth | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | | + | – |
| 4902. Fall in trance | – | – | •+ | | + | | | + | + | + | – | – | + | | + | – |
| 4903. Not touched until next morning | – | – | – | | – | | | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4904. Grabbed | – | – | •+ | | – | | | – | – | – | – | – | + | | . | – |
| 4905. Older shaman may deprive novice of power | •+ | . | •+ | – | – | | | | •+ | | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4906. Disease organisms fly around in air | – | – | . | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4907. Novice enters house via regular entrance | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4908. Novice swallows and vomits up pains | •+ | . | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4909. Exhibits pains | + | + | •+ | •+ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 4910. Novice or doctors handle fire, hot stones | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | | + | •+ |
| 4911. Eat fire | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | – | – | •– | + | – | – | – | | . | + |
| 4912. Novice or doctors eat pounded obsidian | (+) | + | •+ | •+ | | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | . | – |
| 4913. Novice can start curing immediately after dance | (+) | – | – | + | – | – | – | + | •+ | •+ | – | – | •– | | (+) | – |
| [533] 4914. Novice sings in sweat house; no dancing | – | – | – | – | (+) | (+) | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | | – | – |
| 4915. Novice, in training, sings by himself | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | | – | – |
| 4916. Novice trains outside in woods | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | | + | – |
| 4917. With older shamans | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | + | – |
| 4918. Small fire for light | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | + | – |
| 4919. Bleeds at mouth | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | | + | – |
| 4920. Falls in trance | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | | + | – |
| 4921. Taught to handle fire | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | | + | – |
| 4922. Taught use of medicines | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | | + | . |
| 4923. For ... days and nights | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | 4 | – |
| 4924. Novice cures, helps cure patient, as part of training | + | + | (+) | •+ | •+ | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 755 Sucking Doctors: Curing Techniques | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| o4925. Treatment lasts ... nights | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | | 1 | 1 |
| 4926. Public, indoors | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | – | + |

| | | Kl | Mo | SK | SM | At | AM | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 755 | **Sucking Doctors: Payment for Curing** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4983a. Shaman paid for curing | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| | 4984. Negotiated fee | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| | 4985. Patient, patients' relatives decide amount of fee | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| | 4986. Fee paid to doctor before cure | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| | 4987. Fee shown to doctor, who smells it | | | - | | | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| | 4988. Fee paid after cure | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| | 4989. Fee set near patient during treatment | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | | - | - |
| | 4990. Shaman's guardian spirit also "paid" | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| | 4991. Demands skins, hides, baskets, etc. | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| | 4992. Objects set up by patient during cure | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| | 4993. If treatment unsuccessful, doctor tries again | + | | | | | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | | + | |
| | o4994. Makes ... attempts only | | | | | | 3 | 3 | | 3 | - | - | 2 | | | . | |
| | 4996. If treatment unsuccessful, fee not offered or not taken | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | | - | - |
| | 4996. If treatment unsuccessful, fee returned | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | | - | + |
| | 4997. Treatment deemed unsuccessful if patient dies | + | - | + | + | . | . | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | | + | + |
| | 4998. Within 1 to 6 months | - | - | + | + | . | . | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | | - | - |
| | †4999. Within ... days | 10 | - | - | - | - | - | 10 | 10 | 10 | - | - | - | 20 | | 20 | 20 |
| | 5000. Assistants paid same amount as doctor | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| | 5001. Assistants paid less than doctor | - | (+) | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | | - | - |
| | 5002. Doctor pays assistant out of own fee | - | - | - | | | | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| [683] | 5003. Doctor liable for refusing case | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | | - | - |
| | 5004. May be accused of poisoning | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | | - | - |
| | 5005. Liable to be killed | - | - | + | + | . | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | | - | - |
| | 5006. Never decline case | - | - | - | | + | | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| [681] | 5007. Unsuccessful doctors killed | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | | - | - |
| | **Sucking Doctors: Beneficent Powers Other Than Curing** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 756 787 | 5008. Can capture "poison" sickening village | | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| | 5009. Goes into trance | | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| | 5010. 2 men support him, when poison captured | | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | | - | - |
| | 5011. Can locate lost, stolen objects | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | . | + | + | | - | (+) |
| | 5012. Can see what is happening afar off | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | | - | - |
| | 5013. What will happen in future | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | - |
| | **Sucking Doctors: Malevolent Practices** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 756 754 | 5014. Shaman causes illness, death | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| | 5015. Talks to disease object (pain), sends it to victim | | | . | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| | 5016. Disease object put in food | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | | + | - |
| | 5017. Disease object put under victim's doorstep | | | - | | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| | 5018. Disease object sent to sicken entire village | | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | - |
| | 5019. Disease object applied to person's body | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | | + | - |
| | 5020. Scorpion's tail applied to body, or person's urine | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | | + | - |
| | 5020a. Ashes, water, dirt thrown toward victim | | | + | | | | | | | | + | + | + | | + | - |
| | 5021. Disease object pointed at victim | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | - |
| | 5022. Thrown at victim | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | | - | - |
| | 5023. Blown off hand at victim | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | | - | - |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MW | NW | NM | NS | MV | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5024. Blown through pipe | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | · | + | + | + | + | | - | - | 756 |
| 5025. Blown with smoke | | | + | - | + | ½ | + | + | · | + | + | + | + | | - | - | |
| 5026. Disease object put in pipe; pipe offered victim | + | + | - | - | - | - | | + | · | + | + | + | + | | - | - | 754 |
| 5027. Disease object, evil spirit may use tiny bow | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - | |
| 5028. Shoots at victim | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | | - | - | |
| 5029. Shaman talks to animal spirit, sends it to victim | ½ | + | + | | + | | | | | | + | | - | | - | - | |
| 5030. Disease object injected by animal | + | + | - | - | ½ | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 5031. Dreaming of doctor may cause illness. | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | | - | - | |
| 5032. Dreaming of animal may cause illness. | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 5033. Shaman steals victim's soul | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | | - | - | |
| 5034. Heavy fall may also cause soul loss | - | - | - | - | + | - | ½ | ½ | ½ | ½ | + | ½ | ½ | | - | - | |
| 5035. Shaman causes minor injuries that lead to death | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | - | - | |
| 5036. Curing doctors hired to kill | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | - | |
| 5037. Malevolent doctor killed | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | - | 756 |
| 5038. Burned to death | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | 683 |
| 5039. Jumped upon, neck broken | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | + | | - | - | |
| 5040. Shot with bow and arrow | + | + | + | + | ½ | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | ½ | | + | - | |
| 5041. Poisoned by another shaman | + | + | + | + | ½ | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | | - | - | |
| 5042. Chief's consent necessary | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | ½ | ½ | | - | - | |
| 5043. Relative of victim kills doctor | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | | + | - | |
| 5044. Chief kills doctor | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | · | + | - | | (-) | - | |
| 5045. Chief hires killers | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | · | + | + | | - | - | |
| 5046. Woman may hire killers | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | · | + | + | | + | - | |
| **Sucking Doctors: Competitions** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5047. Competitions of sucking shamans | ½ | ½ | (-) | - | - | - | + | - | - | ½ | + | - | (-) | | - | - | 578 756 |
| 5048. Male shamans only | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | | - | - | [562] |
| 5049. Sing, charm opponent | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | | - | - | |
| 5050. Shaman sings | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | | - | - | |
| 5051. Shakes cocoon rattle | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | | - | - | |
| 5052. Is "shot" by sun | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | | - | - | |
| 5053. Shamans boast of power | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | · | - | - | | - | - | |
| 5054. Exchange pipes filled with tobacco. | + | + | · | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | [574] |
| o5055. Inhale from pipes ... times | 5 | 5 | · | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 5056. Overpowered shaman cures self | - | - | · | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | | - | - | |
| 5057. Overpowered shaman cured by winner. | + | + | · | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | | - | - | |
| 5058. Sometimes dies | - | ½ | · | - | - | - | · | - | - | - | + | - | - | | - | - | |
| 5059. Contest held publicly | + | (+) | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | | - | - | |
| 5060. Contest held privately | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | | - | - | |
| **Singing Shamans** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5060a. Singing shamans recognized | - | ½ | + | ½ | - | + | - | ½ | - | - | ½ | ½ | ½ | ½ | ½ | ½ | 756 |
| 5061. Men | - | - | - | | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | 533 |
| 5062. Women | - | - | - | | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | (+) | - | | - | - | |
| 5063. Power acquired during sleep | - | - | · | | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | | - | - | |
| 5064. Power acquired by vision, often unsought | - | - | · | | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | | - | - | |
| 5065. Knowledge acquired by instruction | - | - | + | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 5066. May also be sucking doctor | - | - | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | | | + | | - | - | |
| 5067. Limited power only | - | - | - | | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | | - | - | |
| 5068. Use outfit bundle | - | - | - | | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 5069. Kept inside house | - | - | - | | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |
| 5070. Buried with patient if latter dies. | - | - | - | - | - | ½ | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5071. Burned at owner's death | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient | - | - | + | | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | | - | - |
| 5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient | - | - | + | | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | | - | - |
| 5074. Brushes patient | - | - | + | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient | - | - | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | | - | - |
| 5076. Sucks patient | - | - | - | | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient. | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5078. Can foretell future events | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | + | | - | - |
| 5079. Performs in round house, at night | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | + | | - | - |
| 5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark | | | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | - | - |
| **Soul-Loss Doctors** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5081. Soul loss doctors recognized | - | - | - | - | + | + | | + | + | + | - | + | + | | - | - |
| 5081a. Men | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | | - | - |
| 5082. Women | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5083. Is also sucking doctor | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | | + | + | - | + | + | | - | - |
| 5084. Inherit power | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | | | - | - |
| 5085. Power through vision, dream | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | | - | - |
| 5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | | - | - |
| 5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | | | - | - |
| 5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one | - | - | - | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | | - | - |
| 5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | | | - | - |
| 5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back | - | - | - | - | | + | + | | | + | - | + | - | | - | - |
| 5091. Sings | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | | - | - |
| 5092. Dances | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | | - | - |
| 5093. Has ... assistants | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - | | - | - |
| 5094. Outside speaker | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5095. Interpreter | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | | - | - |
| 5096. Spectators sing in house | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | | - | - |
| 5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks | - | - | - | - | | | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | | - | - |
| 5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer" | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5100. Soul returns through fontanelle | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | + | - | + | | | - | - |
| **Weather Shamans** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5100a. Weather shamans recognized | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5101. Men mostly | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5102. Both sexes | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5103. Specialized profession | - | - | - | | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5105. Office inherited | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | | - | - |
| 5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | | + | - | | - | - |
| 5107. Supernatural experience required | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | | - | - |
| 5108. Make rain by formula, song | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5109. Sing with spectators | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | | - | - |
| 5110. Smoke pipe | | | | - | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions | | | | | | | | | | | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5112. Contortions or dancing | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | | - | - |
| 5113. Can make fog, high winds | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5114. Make rain to remove snow | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5115. Can make rain stop | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5116. Performs whenever need arises | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | | - | - |
| 5117. Paid for performance | - | - | - | | - | + | 3 | - | - | - | - | | - | | - | - |
| 5118. Bets made on outcome of | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | | - | - |
| 5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | | - | - |
| 5121. At funeral | - | - | - | + | | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5122. Thunders when doctor dies | | | | | | | | + | + | + | | | + | | - | - |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Rattlesnake Shamans** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5123. Rattlesnake shamans recognized | + | + | + | +* | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | +* | | – | + |
| 5124. Men only | + | (+) | | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | | – | + |
| 5125. Mostly men, some women | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | | – | + |
| 5126. Mostly women | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5127. Berdache | | | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5128. May also be curing shaman | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | + | + | – | – | | – | + |
| 5129. Hereditary | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | | – | – |
| 5130. Instruction given | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | | – | – |
| 5131. Supernatural experience required | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | | – | + |
| 5132. Power from thunder | . | . | . | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5133. Power from rattlesnake | . | . | . | + | – | + | – | + | – | + | + | – | – | | – | + |
| 5134. Dreams of buzzard | . | . | . | – | + | – | +* | – | – | – | + | – | – | | – | – |
| 5135. Immune to snake bites | . | . | . | +* | +* | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | | – | + |
| 5136. Plays with snakes publicly | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | | – | + |
| 5137. Uses bone whistle | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5138. Carries snake around neck | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5139. Can skin snake alive | | | | | | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5140. Cures snake bites | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | . | + | + | – | – | | – | + |
| 5141. By sucking | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | . | + | + | – | – | | – | – |
| 5142. Sucks out fangs, snakes | + | (+) | + | + | + | – | – | + | . | + | + | – | – | | – | – |
| 5143. Rubs patient with buzzard wing | – | – | – | | | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5144. Rattlesnake ceremony | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5145. Songs sung to snakes | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5146. In winter, by woman | – | – | + | +* | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5147. Early in spring | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5148. Privately | – | – | – | – | – | (+) | (+) | – | – | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5149. Snakes emerge from holes | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | +* | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5150. Talked to, told not to molest villagers | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5151. Rattlesnake shamans from other tribes, not local | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| **Bear Shamans** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5151a. Bear shamans | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | | + | – |
| 5152. Men only | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | | + | – |
| 5153. Mostly men | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5154. Both sexes | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5155. Is regular curing shaman | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | | + | – |
| 5156. Hereditary | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | | + | – |
| 5157. Instruction given | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | + | – |
| 5158. Supernatural experience required | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | | – | – |
| 5159. Power obtained from bear | – | – | – | + | + | . | – | . | – | – | +* | – | – | | – | – |
| 5160. Cure wounds made by grizzly bear | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | +* | – | – | | . | – |
| 5161. Simulates bear's guise | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | | + | – |
| 5162. Rubs self with snake | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | +* | – |
| 5163. Transformation into bear | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | +* | – | – | – | – | – | | +* | – |
| 5164. Wears bearskin, bear hair | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | | + | – |
| 5165. Wears bear claws | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | | + | – |
| 5166. Impersonator invulnerable | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | + | – | – | | + | – |
| 5167. Can travel rapidly | – | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | | + | – |
| 5168. Maliciously inclined | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | | + | – |
| **Money Finders** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5168a. Money finders recognized | * | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5169. Any doctor capable of | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | | – | – |
| 5170. Only doctor with certain guardian spirits | – | – | – | – | – | +* | +* | – | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – |

| | Kl | Mo | SE | SW | At | AW | AE | WT | WM | WS | MM | MF | NF | NM | NS | MV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5171. Instruction | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5172. Supernatural experience | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5173. Sings | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5174. Goes into trance | - | - | - | - | - | | | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5175. Tells who hid or stole money | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5177. Talks to piece of money | - | - | - | - | - | | | - | + | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5178. Listens to hear money singing | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5179. Functions when money is lost | - | - | - | - | - | (-) | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5180. Performs at any public ceremony | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5181. Money hidden, to test shaman | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| **Witchcraft** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Black Magic** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5182. Love medicine | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| 5183. Roots | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5184. Hair treated with formula, blood | | | | | | | | + | + | • | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5185. Songs | | | • | | | • | • | • | - | - | + | • | - | - | - | - |
| 5186. "Diamond" (charmstone) | | | | | | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors | + | - | • | + | - | - | - | + | + | • | + | . | • | | + | - |
| 5188. Men only | + | - | - | + | - | | | + | - | - | - | . | + | | - | - |
| 5189. Have power from various animals | - | - | . | - | - | | - | - | - | + | - | . | - | | - | - |
| 5190. From evil spirit | - | | - | - | - | | - | - | - | + | - | . | - | | - | - |
| 5191. Have knowledge of herbs | (-) | | • | | - | | | | | | | | + | | - | - |
| 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic | + | | • | + | • | | | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | - |
| 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | | + | (-) |
| 5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright | + | + | • | • | • | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | • | | • | (-) |
| 5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness | - | - | • | • | | | | • | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - |
| 5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures | - | - | - | - | | | | • | • | + | - | - | - | | - | - |
| **Prayer, Offerings** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5196. Prayers frequent by all | + | + | - | (-) | + | + | • | + | + | + | + | + | + | | • | + |
| 5197. Offerings of food at meals | • | + | • | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | • | + | + | | + | + |
| **Eagle Ceremony** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5198. Special observances connected with eagle | | | | | | | | (-) | | | | | - | - | + | - |
| 5199. Eaglets captured alive | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | - | • | - |
| 5200. People eat acorn soup on spot | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | - | • | - |
| 5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | - | + | - |
| 5202. Killed when grown | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | - | + | - |
| 5203. Feathers plucked out | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | - | + | - |
| 5204. Beads put on body | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | - | + | - |
| 5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | - | + | - |
| 5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | - | + | - |
| 5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers | | | | | | | | • | • | | | | - | - | + | - |
| **Kuksu** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Initiation (Boys)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5207. Tossed | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | . | | - | - |
| 5208. Over fire | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | (-) | . | | - | - |
| 5209. Held over fire | | | | | | | | | | | | (-) | . | | - | - |

821 is fire from dove, fire for driving rabbits; is pinole or piñon road, frame or back bone of sky. Rainbow: is man's penis, coyote's penis, childbirth sign; sign of dry weather, bad luck for hunting or fishing; get weak eyes from staring at. Thunder: is female, woman and 2 sons, coyote; noise explained as 2 fawns hiding in intercourse, hummingbird, eagle playing shinny, dancing, sliding on snow, sticks being beaten together, tules being broken, basket being rolled; food or water thrown out, food or water covered. Lightning: from mouth, eyes of Thunder person; from waving of ribbon, drilling, rubbing sticks, striking stones together; is fire from burning tules, birds flying fast; food, water thrown out, covered; dogs made to squeal. Whirlwind: war associated with, snake in it, wind playing; caused by charmstone; spit at to stop, offer beads to, point at, strike or pierce it with weapon; formula and bathing.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

775 Spirit goes to definite underworld; to island; crosses water with boatman; rich and poor different destinations; warriors go to special heaven. Hang hopper basket, grass snare, bay leaves in door to keep away ghost.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787 824 Jimsonweed (Datura) root drunk to obtain vision, by group or individuals. Ant-fortitude ordeal; group or individuals swallow ants, to obtain vision.

Shamanism

● 756 Sucking doctors: women only; women can sicken only. Doctor-making rite held in circular brush enclosure; patient brought in for novice to cure; novice enters sweat house via exit hole, enters head first down ladder. Curing: shaman uses beads on stick, quartz crystals; brushes or fans away disease with skin; rubs Datura (jimsonweed) on eyes, drinks Datura; doctor or assistant uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper, flute. Doctor cuts before sucking; disease object sucked out through pipe. Doctor paid by installments throughout night. Sucking doctors: in competition, "bullets" shot; assistants for each contestant, performers paid; contests held at mourning ceremony only. Singing shamans: outfit bundle inherited, bought; shaman uses quartz crystals, portable mortar, charmstone; shaman dies if he loses outfit. Soul-loss doctor: is also singing shaman; uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper; mostly women. Soul recovered by snaring in noose, by refrightening patient. Weather shamans: make rain with aid of black rock, crystal,

756 charmstone; water sprinkled, blown on rock, dirt sprinkled, thrown; fence built across creek. Performs at mourning ceremony, any public ceremony; belongs to other tribe, not local. Rattlesnake shaman: gets power from sun; plays with snakes secretly. Public rattlesnake ceremony, annual, in spring, summer, at mourning ceremony; chief furnishes food; sham curing rite, stepping rite with snake in hole. Money finders: wear full-length feather cloak, carry 1 or 2 long sticks; whistle, shake cocoon rattle; function at mourning ceremony; member of another tribe, not local.

[168-A]

730. WS: Refers to assembly house.

731. WS: Doctor-dance house open to men only, except when dancing going on; at this time women may also seek shamanistic power by dancing.

732. SW: Ceremonies consist largely of dances, attended by both men and women; however, prospective women shamans may also use this house to dance in, alone, while training for doctoring. WS: See note 731.

[342] [756] 733. K1, Mo: Shaman dances publicly in house during training; later cures in house. SE, SW: Shaman dances, alone, in house during training. AE: Shaman cures in house. WT, WM, WS: Would-be shamans, when seeking power, hold dance in dance house. WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS: Shaman cures in assembly house. MM, MF, NF: Shaman also holds night séances in assembly house.

733a. SE: See note for assembly and living houses. AE: By end of December all people belonging to certain village gather, live in semisubterranean earth lodge; during summer, fall they "live scattered out in camps" of 1-2 households, "all over the hills." WS: Refers to multifamily living house and assembly house. MF: Refers to multifamily assembly house. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

734. At: During summer "camp out, under 4-post shade." MM: During summer use flat-topped shades, circular brush enclosures ("corrals"). MF: Refers to 1-family brush house.

735. WS: Refers to 1-family living house. MV: Refers to assembly house.

Domed living house.--

[343] [342] 736. K1: Cook house (sti'na'as). The following additional traits pertaining to this type house were noted as present, but are not included in element list: 668, 670, 701, 719, 721, 722, 733a. Mo: 2 varieties domed living houses used. (1) multifamily domed eating and sleeping summer house (stakimus), and (2) cook house for winter house (kaiya'da). Type 1 "could be occupied winter and summer; it often is, by ordinary persons. Shamans, headmen live in earth house in winter, and use domed houses only in summer, or when camping." AW: alo'li. Additional positive elements: 693, 694, 699, 701, 702, 714, 715, 717, 719, 721, 723, 727, 735. AE: pastilogi. Willow house, having additional positive elements: 668, 670, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 715, 716, 719, 723, 727. MV: Slightly excavated, partly earth-covered domed living house lacking, but it should be noted that the 2 types of semisubterranean earth lodges, and also the earth-covered sweat house have domed roofs.

737. Mo: Positive entry refers to winter cook house.

738. Mo: Positive entry refers to domed summer house.

739. AW, AE: Pair willow poles stuck in ground 8-10 ft. apart; upper ends arched and tied together near tips; second set of poles

000 back into earth and disappear. Paiutes have lots of these diamonds." Possessor of such charmstone can attract deer to him easily, or money. WM: Lucky stones of varied shapes, kept outside house, because if having intercourse in house, stone might make possessor sick or blind. Such stones passed on at death. MV: Charmstones of gray-blue rock, such as shown in Dixon, Maidu, figs. 11,a,b, p. 140, kept in old oak tree by person who knows how to take care of them. As long as they are perfect in shape they are animate; if buried, can travel underground of own accord. When "alive," can hypnotize person; used by gamblers. When such stone is hurt, i.e., nicked or cracked, it "dies" and loses all its power. Noninheritable; effective only if found by possessor.

2004. AE: Few doughnut stones found, but not considered as lucky stones.

## SMOKING AND TOBACCO

### Pipes and Pipe Sacks

2006. Mo: Both informants denied use of tubular pipe; commented that holding pipe slanting upward would be "tedious" method of smoking. WM: Wooden tubular pipe not made by many people; Okwanuchu (waibos), N of Wintu, make these. NF: Made of green stone (serpentine?).

2007. At: Similar in shape to Wintun pipe, Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 30,g.

2011. SW: Refers to 1-piece stone pipe. This used by shamans for poisoning persons. Also, when curing patient, shaman smokes it, or sucks out poison object with it occasionally.

[276] 2012. Kl: Used by shamans.

[756] 2013. Kl: Ca. 6 in. long. AW: Ca. 3-4 in. long. Select soft stone, pick out bowl cavity with bone awl.

[276] 2016. Kl: Ca. 2 in. long. AE: Wild rose stem.

2019. Stem inserted only if hole in mouthpiece end of pipe is too large for smoker.

[276] 2021. Kl: Sides flare outward so that bowl end is wider than stem end. WS: Refers to 2-piece stone bowl pipe.

2022. Refers to 1-piece wooden pipe. See Du Bois, Wintu, figs. 7, a-d. WT: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, d, but lacking upper bulb. WM: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, a. WS: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, a, c; also have pipe same shape as fig. 7, e, but with short stem added.

2023. WS: Refers to 1-piece wooden pipe.

2024. Mo: Owned by important men only.

2028. WM: Soft stone bowl picked out with bone awl; wooden stem wrapped with woodpecker skin. Said to be old type.

[202-A]

000 also used board as drum. See element 3670; also cf. Densmore, Musical Instruments, pp. 114-115.

2084. AW: Basket drummed with pack strap, to frighten away bear. MF, NF, NM: Use of pack strap for this purpose denied. MF: Drum on basket, in night ceremony held during April, when men, women sing for good seed crops, plentiful game for year. NF: Men scrape, drum basket when singing in assembly house; no dance. NS: Taboo to drum basket; "must not play with a basket." MV: Basket patted with hands.

Rattles, rasp.--

[534] 2085. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 90) doubts whether any large cocoons in Kl area. SW, At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Cocoons suitable for rattles available in area. WS: Cocoon rattle used for Big Head dance.

2088. At: 30+ cocoons. AW, MM: 5-6. WS, MF: 4-5. NS: 3-5. MV: 5-10.

[534] [175] 2089. Kl: Shamans do not use any variety rattle. At: Cocoon rattle dangerous; shaman never keeps it in house, or shows it to people, except when doctoring. When he shakes rattle, "it is as though he is asking his power for help." AW: Poisonous for anyone other than shaman to handle.

2093. SW: Gray papery sack, ca. 5 in. long, 2-3 in. wide; neither cocoon nor wasp's nest, but resembling these, used as rattle; broken mussel shells put inside it; used by children.

2097. WT: Refers to single-split rattle.

2098, 2099. WT: Refers to multiple-split rattle.

2101. WT: Refers to single-split rattle.

2103. AW, WM, WS, MF: By shamans only. MM: Snake rattles regarded as poisonous.

2108. SE: 7-8 hoofs.

2111. Mo: Obsidian arrowheads shaken inside open-mouthed basket cap, to encourage men to go to war.

[534] [177] 2114. Kl: 2 notched rasps, held in hand, "played like a fiddle." No basket. Recency denied. Cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 35.

Bull-roarer; whistles and flutes.--

[534] [178] 2116. Kl: Learned from Whites.

2120. At: Children, twirling bull-roarer for fun, ordered to stop, because sound produces sickness.

2130. Mo: Used when hunting ducks. SW: Used for any dance. WS: 2 types whistle; (1) of bone, old; (2) of elder, recent.

2131, 2133-2134. WS: Refers to older type bone whistle.

2136. WS: Used for Ghost (Dream) dance only; recent.

2147. Mo: Whipsnakes around elderberry bushes. See note 2161. SE: Also not good to handle elderberry bush; gives person headache. MV: Whistling with lips also taboo at any time.

2148. MV: Any variety of snake will come to whistler.

000 A headman of a single village never collected just his own men and went off to war; he had too small a bunch. Sometimes 3-4 Fall River men [Achomawi proper] would go with the war party."

2796. At: "Hat Creek people gave Round Mountain people pay for helping them fight; gave them beads, arrows, bows" (see note 2771).

2797. WS: No war leader; chief arranges that 40-50 men go to war, from his village, but appoints no leader for group and he himself does not go. MM: Headmen (see note 2619).

2798. At: Chief may stop fight, as when At and N Yana fighting Wintu, N Yana chief finally stopped battle, telling contestants, "You'd better let me talk; stop fighting." So the Wintu "quieted down, and stopped and finally paid. But At had killed Wintun man or so by then, and had their scalps."

2802. SW: That is, by fellow fighters.

[726] [704] [533] 2803. Kl: Because he is "a good singer" (?); WT, WM, MM: because he has power to dodge arrows.

## Preparation

Prognostication; shamanistic activities; practice fighting; war dance; painting.--

2810. WT: Night before war party leaves, all men who intend to go to war practice fighting by dodging arrows that are shot at them; if a man falls down, it is warning he will be killed in war; shaman doctors such and tells him not to go. "But sometimes such men went anyway, and were killed." This practice was not a dance. No women participated.

[726] [756] 2812. Kl: Before war party sets out, all warriors line up, outside village; each man holds stone-tipped arrow straight in front of him. Shaman walks down line of men with his back to them; each man strikes in turn at shaman's back, below shoulder, with stone-tipped arrow. If man's arrowhead cuts doctor, latter turns quickly and tells man not to go to war, because he is certain to be killed. Sometimes man, thus forewarned, does not go; "sometimes he does, and is always killed if he does so."

2814. At: Shaman sings all night, on war expedition, for his power, so that enemies' bowstrings will break. In early morning warriors rise, and doctor talks to arrows, saying, "Get up, and wash your face"; then war party leaves.

2817. Mo: Shamans hired to make enemy sleepy.

2818. At: During fight shaman stays behind tree, all time, "giving out his power."

2820. Considered in nature of "training" for war. WT: See note 2810.

[726] [535] 2823. Kl: No real war dance; cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 29-30. Mo: Ho·laklal; of minor importance; "just a little practice, for part of night, to show how active they are going to be, in war." WT: "Arrow dance"; men, only, build small fire at night, outside; talk to bows and arrows men who are going to war will take with

000 family, not that his sister-in-law belongs to him." WM: Woman may refuse to marry brother-in-law, saying she "does not want to die like [her] sister did." Not obligatory for man either.

3841. At, WT: Only if widower treated first wife well. WM: See note 3839.

587 3842. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, AE, WT, WS, NS: Dead woman's parents hire shaman to kill son-in-law, 756 if he refuses to marry one of deceased wife's 684 sisters. WM: Woman's parents hire men to kill son-in-law outright.

587 3844. Kl, SE: Usually, however, relative of 595 man marries latter's stepdaughter.

595 3852. Kl: Informant "had heard lots about this, among [N] California tribes and up at Warm Springs--about man living with his sister-in-law--but not practiced among Kl." AE: Not especially disapproved. WT: Indulged in only by "loose" women, and generally disapproved.

000 3853. NS: Man sleeps with sister-in-law, only during brother's absence from home.

3855. NS: Not necessarily between namesakes only.

3856. SE: Extension of levirate also occurs; man may marry father's brother's wife, "to keep her in the family; he has to pay for his aunt, however, to give any children he may have by her status. But in outright levirate, gifts only given; levirate not always obligatory for man; "woman has to be good woman, to have treated dead husband well and pitched her face for him when he died, for his family to make strenuous efforts to keep her after his death." SW: Levirate more obligatory, for both man and woman concerned, than post-mortem sororate (see note 3839). WM: Day after funeral, when all relatives of dead man are crying, brother of deceased may ask widow for drink of water. If she gives it to him, they are considered as married from then on. Both widow and brother-in-law have blackened, pitched faces, and let pitch stay on until it wears off, but in event of speedy remarriage widow does not wear pitch necklace.

3857. SE: See preceding note.

3858. At: Widow may tell her brother-in-law she is going to marry another man; "All right," he says, and tells her to "take care of those children [by dead husband] good; be careful with them and let me know when they're sick."

[587 684] 3860. Kl: But because levirate is so obligatory for woman and for dead husband's brother, rule seldom if ever violated. However, see element 3973.

[587 684] 3862. By hiring shaman to kill woman, for all groups except WM, NS. WM: If woman refuses to give brother-in-law drink of water (see note 3856 WM) "then her brother-in-law or father-in-law get mad at her and try to kill her." NS: Woman shot with bow and arrow.

3866. SW: Kammatwa and Katiru groups intermediate between Shasta proper and Karok (see note 282) permit marriage of blood relatives; Shasta do not.

Shamanism

OOD

Sucking doctors; personnel and acquisition of power.--

4801. MM, MF: Female shamans do not suck out disease objects, however.

4803. Mo: If shaman wishes son or daughter to become shaman, feeds offspring some of his own "medicine" ("pain" object). But offspring must also acquire guardian spirit of his own as well. MM: Only under peculiar circumstances; see note 4806. MV: But if person's grandfather, for example, and not spirit creature, makes one a doctor (yomi), "that power fails a person sometimes, and doesn't last long."

4804. Mo: See preceding Mo note. At: "If old man has power, and his power likes a young relative (son or nephew) of old man's, power tells latter, 'Sometimes I'm going to play with that boy.' The power wants to get away and go with the boy. So it does; then the young boy becomes a doctor." If power comes this way, boy often goes out before sundown and plays with power; listens to it "singing all time," and tells his mother or father, who explain what this means. AW: Shaman may give his boy or girl his pain if pain likes the offspring; if it does not, child cannot obtain it. AE: A person's animal "power" or his "pain" may not like its possessor, and transfer to son or daughter of latter, before person's death; then parent's other powers may also desert to offspring. Also, "sometimes the power waited until after its possessor died." MS: Boy's father, or maternal, paternal grandfather, has to be shaman, or else boy cannot be one, as knowledge concerning shamanism is passed on within family; cannot be taught by outsider.

4805. Mo: After shaman's death, some of his "medicine" may go to one of his children if child "is smart enough"; if not, "when shaman dies that is the last of his medicine." If medicine comes unsought to child in this manner, there is no necessity for questing for it. AW: "After doctor's death, pain goes up and stays there for several months, then comes down and goes into ground; in spring it comes up in red roots of rye grass and goes to the person it likes. Sometimes a pain takes a person [master] in middle of winter, but not often." AE: See preceding AE note. WM: Old woman's dead son's spirit (ghost) may ask other spirits, "Will you help me out, and give my mother power; she feels badly [over son's death]." Other spirits may concur, saying, "Yes; maybe some day we'll go to that house, in 10-20 days [years] or sooner."

[754]

4806. That is, if parent's pain (animate) does not wish to go to offspring, latter cannot inherit it. Mo, At, AW, AE: See notes 4804-4805. MM: My information agrees with Loeb's (Eastern Kuksu, p. 199) on this point; not all children of shaman, as Dixon states (Maidu, p. 274 ff.), or any of them become shamans if pain possessed by deceased shaman does not like any of children. Informant

and his brother are sons of shaman; neither one of them inherited their father's pain. "That spirit that belonged to my father didn't like us. Once or twice we thought it might be coming to my brother, but it didn't. When my father died, I took all his doctoring things and put them away outside; they were no good to me, just good for my father."

4807. Mo: See preceding Mo note. MV: "Never go out to try and get the power; it just comes to you; the spirit gets you, himself."

4811. SW: 4-5 days. WT, WM: 1-3. MV: Novice is sick for little while after he dreams first time; then begins to dream his training.

4813. SE, AW, AE: In dream after crying for dead, often.

4815. SE: Also, novice or full-fledged shaman cannot smell any burnt hair or burnt skin; makes her sick. SW: Guardian spirit tells novice he will bleed while dancing during training. NP: Novice bleeds at nose; for all other groups, at mouth.

4816. SE: 2-3 nights.

4820. AW: If refuse power from animal, not dangerous, as shaman can blow sickness, caused by refusal, off victim; if person refuses to accept "pain" that comes to one, he will die.

4822. AW: Can refuse animal's offer to become supernatural guardian; cannot refuse offer of "pain"; if refuse latter, will inevitably die. MV: Can refuse power by burning beads at spot where dream came, or by telling about one's dream.

4823. WT, WM, MM: Animal or vegetable.

4824. Mo: This makes one unclean. If fail to put ashes on, death will ensue.

4826. WT: Rarely. See note 4722.

4829. NS: Among this group, instruction by older shamans (who are related to boy in training) is apparently only method followed. Boys, 8-10 years old, taken into woods, to secret place, by 2 male shaman relatives, and there taught how to handle hot stones, other things. Stay there 4 days, fasting; no meat, liquids; instructed concerning food taboos to be followed after training over (not to eat hot foods, and such). Generally keep fact they have been trained and details of such training secret, even from parents. Boy taken out thus might refuse to engage in training; not reprimanded by relative if he decides not to go on with it.

4830. MV: Very little; in main, his guardian spirit teaches him.

[75] 4834. Described as obsidian flakes by Kl, Mo; as "looking like a hair" by At, AW, WT, WM, WS, MM, MP; "like a bug" by At; "like a little sharp bone" by WS. Kl: Pain not animate. Mo: Either animate or inanimate. SE: Animate; moves but does not speak. Shaman never speaks to own pains, or those she sucks out. SW: "Shaman carries her 'pains' inside her all the time; that makes her the same as her guardian spirit, who also carries the pains (his arrows) inside him all the time." When SW informant stopped doctoring, he buried

000 his doctoring pipe, feathers, and his pains up in mountains under rocks. "Lots of doctors stopped, especially the women doctors; they didn't like the smell of White people. They couldn't see anything any more; it [power] all left them." At: When extracted from patient, pain often pleads with curing shaman to be sent back to its owner, and not to be killed (chewed up, or burnt); curing shaman often makes pain tell him who sent it, and so on. AW: "Before pain [always referred to as "poison" among At, AW, AE] was a pain, it was some kind of a weed." Cf. note 4805. Shaman, in sending out pain, may smoke, blow smoke and pain toward victim; he tells his pain, "Now go," and pain goes and finds victim. Then pain listens to victim; "if he talks good, pain returns to doctor, tells him, 'I didn't hit him, he looks good.' Doctor may say, 'All right, if you want to save him.'" AE: Animal appears to person in dream or otherwise; gives that person song, and tells him what to use as his pain ("poison"); that pain can talk, and has a song, too.

4838. SE, SW: In head, heel, shoulder. WT, WM: In head. WS: In head or heart. "Doctor has to have a clean heart; his heart is the pain's home, and pain has to stay there as long as the man lives; he can't put pain away or get rid of it, if he wants to stop doctoring."

[756] [779] 4839. Kl, Mo, AE: Although shamans also acquire "pains" (see elements 4833 ff.), emphasis among these 3 groups is chiefly upon guardian-spirit helpers they acquire. SE, SW, At, AW: Emphasis shifts from guardian-spirit helpers to the "pains" themselves, which are always animate and can talk. AW: "If person acquires 10 kinds of powers [guardian-spirit helpers], he will be a doctor. [But must have "pain" to doctor.] Whenever doctor cries at funeral, he gets more power" (through dreams).

4846. SW: "Any animal people eat is nothing at all for giving one power for doctoring. Grizzly Bear, Timber Wolf help doctors; Coyote too; they all look like animals, but they call themselves after a mountain (Wolf) or a bush (Grizzly Bear) or some rocks (Coyote), when they announce themselves to doctors; they don't go by their ordinary names. Panther, deer, raccoon, badger, ground squirrel are nothing at all, because people eat them." WT: Power comes from small animals and flies, other insects.

4853. SW: "Rattlesnake can give power [but only in ancillary fashion]; but he doesn't talk to a doctor, or sing. You can see rattlesnake, though [during trance or faint], and get some power that way; but the only way a doctor uses rattlesnake is to use the skin for her pipe stem [decoration], or to wear the rattles. She never calls on rattlesnake to help her." MV: "Rattlesnake is main doctor."

4856. AE: "Frog--that's the boss of the doctors."

4870. Mo: Shaman has pole outside house, with bald eagle feathers, skunk skin and other skins

strung on it. He never kills bird or animal of same species as his guardian spirit(s), but someone else kills these for him, gives feathers, skins to him. SE: See note 4946. SW: Novice acquires pole, with 10 different objects (feathers, skins) on it; this sacred, kept outside house when not being used during shamanistic performance; at latter, shaman brings pole, plants it in ground outside patient's house. See note 4992. At: After man begins to doctor patients he acquires eagle down, woodpecker feathers, yellowhammer band. Ties these feathers inside his whistle. Also acquires bunch supernatural feathers (kaku) which he keeps tied up on willow branch, near creek; when shaman dies, blood drips from these kaku feathers. When shaman first discovers these feathers they are singing; he walks up to them and picks them up. WM: Shamans pass on their feathers, when old and near death, to another shaman; "keep passing them on from 1 to another. Sometimes the feathers tell doctor to put them in the water ['bury' them]; or feathers may say, 'No, I want to be alive, give me to another doctor.'" If, on receiving the feathers a shaman does not know how to handle them, he tells them he cannot keep them and is going to put them in the water.

4871. At: See preceding At note. Shaman never brings these feathers inside house, or uses them in curing performance; there may be children playing around who might make too much noise; feathers might become disturbed, poison people.

4872. At: See note 4870 At.

4873. At: Also, if man dreams "good" (acquires luck) after birth of child, "he never tells about his dream; if he does, he won't have any luck."

Sucking doctors: doctor-making rites.--

4874. SE, SW: 2 dances entered for each of these groups: (1) dance which novice performs alone in sweat house immediately after obtaining vision; (2) public winter dance in sweat house, following which a novice shaman may start curing. If SE, SW entries for elements 4875-4924 relate to one type dance only, note explains to which; if entries relate to both types dance, no note.

[756 178 184] 4874a. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 113, says rites last 5 nights and days; my informant, who had danced at these performances, said 1, but probably he was referring to more recent curtailed performances. WT: 1-4.

4875. SE: Novice dances 3 nights, alone; public winter dance lasts 2 nights. WM: 4-5 nights.

4877. WT: Doctor dance (yomuse) starts in morning; at noon eat dinner; in afternoon dance again, then eat supper; then dance all night around fire. By daylight dance is over. Men, women shamans dance; women hold fox hides, wildcat hides on sticks, while dancing; men dance inside circle of women dancers, and wear yellowhammer bands on their heads. Novice doctors join in dance. During daytime dancing, shamans, in turn, hold cocoon rattle on stick, gaze straight

000 at sun; Sun "shoots" shaman, who is "killed" and falls down, and another shaman has to shake him by feet and awaken him; stricken shaman has blood streaming from nose. Clowns function at this dance.

4878a. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone. WT, WM, WS: Held immediately before and during time vision obtained.

4879. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone.

4880. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4881. SW: Refers to public winter dance. AW: See note 4805 AW.

4881a. WS: Held once year, in spring only; "not in winter--too cold; not in summer--too warm."

4885. SE, SW: Refers to novice's dance by self, not to public winter dance. At: "After man gets his power [from vision quest] he dances, while sweating, 1 day and night after returning home. He dances by himself; children must keep away from the sweat house, and keep quiet. The next day his family prepares food, and he eats alone. But he doesn't doctor for a long time after this."

[756] [535] 4886. K1: 3-4 shamans attend. One midwinter dance, only, given for all 4 local groups of K1 (see also note 4437 K1). SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756] [535] 4890. K1: 2 groups, 6 men each, dance on 1 side of fire inside house.

4894. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756] [535] [533] [562] 4896. K1: Women sit in circle around house, next to wall, singing for male dancers. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4897-4900. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4901. Mo: Any time shaman becomes excited, his spirit causes him to bleed at mouth; therefore shaman always keeps quiet around his house. At: This does not happen during any public doctor-making dance (of which At have none), but if novice attends curing performance by older shaman, he may fall down in faint and blood comes from his mouth. Older shaman then sings for him and, when boy revives, tells him he had better help him cure patient. See note 4924.

4902-4904. SE: Refers to public winter dance.

756 4905. K1: "Sometimes the old doctors are jealous because there's a new doctor, so they poison him, right there. The 'mean' doctor's medicine [perhaps weasel, or bear] meets that new doctor's medicine [guardian spirit] up in the mountains somewhere; the old doctor's medicine hides and catches the new doctor's medicine, and 'poisons' the new doctor thus. When the new doctor becomes sick from this [very soon after the dance], he says, 'Some doctor gave me poison; I'm sick.' One old man will ask him, 'What's the matter, what's the matter; what did they do to you?' The new doctor tells the old man that the mean doctor's medicine has grabbed his own medicine; that's why he has taken sick. So he lies down all the time and sings; he sings his medicine.

756 He lies there, eating all right, but he's sick. After awhile he says, 'Well, he grabbed my medicine, just like a chicken hawk [clutches its prey].' That's the last words he may say; he dies right there. The mean doctor has killed
OOD him." SE: Refers to public winter dance. WM: When shaman first doctoring (1 month to year after he obtained his power in doctor dance), he may have his "spirit" (guardian spirit) stolen from him. "A relative of a dead shaman may do this [because the young doctor is singing deceased shaman's song]; the new doctor may have the dead doctor's spirit."

756 4908. Kl: Novice swallows 2 flint rock "pains" which assistant gives him; men dance; he then vomits 1 piece flint rock; more singing; vomits second piece; both found in basket of water. Novice also puts his 2 flint rock pains in another man's mouth, on tongue; they vanish; women sing; then pains appear in basket of water.

4909. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4910. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance. MV: This does not happen during any doctor-making dance (of which MV have none), but dance manager (yumbasi) of other types of dances eats fire; doctors (yomi) do not.

4911. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance. WM: "Samson Grant, a puisus [Achomawi] doctor, eats blazing pine splinters [correct]; WM doctors don't."

4912. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4913. WM: After obtaining his power during doctor dance, novice usually does not doctor for from 1 month to 1 year, until older shaman tells him to doctor someone. WS: Informant had cousin, small boy, who doctored when he was young (9-10 years old); later became powerful shaman. NF: Only when novice is middle-aged does he start doctoring.

4924. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance. At: If novice attends curing performance by older shaman, sometimes latter invites him to help cure patient (see note 4901). Novice demurs, but older shaman urges him; former sings 4 songs, and novice then pulls out "pain" from patient. "The boy [novice] is pretty nearly dead, because he's holding the poison; he puts it in a little basket, and the older shaman sings and sings for him; finally he gets him up. The novice then tells who has poisoned the patient."

Sucking doctors: curing techniques.--

4925. Mo, SE: 1-2 nights. SW: 2-3. If, when diagnosing patient, shaman sees that "pain" (intrusive disease object) has already left him (pains always leave victim night before he dies) she knows there is no hope, and makes no attempt to cure, although patient may actually live until next morning. At: 2-3. AW: 1-2. "Doctoring takes 2-3 nights. The people who sing for a doctor must stay throughout period, or doctor loses his power." AE: 2-3 nights; usually 3. On first night, shaman generally cannot locate intrusive

000 Sucking doctors: malevolent practices; competitions.--

5014. WM: "Long time ago, doctors could [and did] poison other people if they wanted to [as well as cure people], but they didn't do it much. A doctor would always go up on mountain [if he wanted to kill someone]; he had his feathers, and his 'boy' [pain]; he'd talk to boy, tell it he would hire him to kill a man or woman; he'd send that poison out to kill someone--another doctor, or just an ordinary man or woman." MV: Informant commented, "As long as I've been living here, I've never heard of it [sickening by shaman] here; up in the mountains they have poisoners (yompati)." MV: Sickness caused chiefly by dreaming bad dreams.

5017. At: "If person has nice clothes, evil shaman may come around and tell that person he wants them. But person--perhaps young boy--may say, 'Those are the only clothes I have; I can't let you have them.' Then a bad shaman would put his poison down on trail, or by door of boy's house; the boy steps on it; he's sick, next day he dies, before sun-up. The doctor never gets the clothes; he's just angry [and does this for revenge]."

5018. See elements 5008-5010.

5020. NS: Shaman puts scorpion tail under his long fingernail on index finger and sticks victim with this tail; victim dies. "A doctor (yomusi) tried to stick my grandmother that way; instead he stuck one of my mother's brothers, who was baby then; that baby died before morning. My grandmother's relatives were angry and tracked the doctor to Indian Diggings and killed him." No formula spoken to tail. Also, shaman uses liver with rattlesnake poison in it, sticks his arrowheads in this liver, then shoots at person. "A doctor shot an old woman who wouldn't marry him with one of these poison arrows, here." Also, shaman sticks his scorpion tail into spot where victim has urinated; latter cannot urinate after this, and dies. Children warned to urinate over bush for this reason.

5021. At: Disease object put on end of willow stick, and stick pointed at person. Then doctor's "power" takes poison over and puts it in the victim. Shaman "smokes, smokes, and sings all night; he eats no meat, acorn soup, anything (but can drink water) for 1 night and day."

5025. AW: See note 4834 AW.

[757] [756] 5029. Kl: Spirit sent to person to give latter bad dreams; victim sickens from them.

5030. At: Shaman's animal also sometimes attacks person, actually chews him.

5034. AE, WT, WM, WS, MF, NF: Less serious than if shaman steals soul.

5040. At: If shaman's animal has actually attacked victim (see note 5030), "long time afterward the victim will find out [who sent animal out]; people will caution him not to mention his knowledge, saying 'Maybe his friend [animal] will hear, listening around here, and tell him [shaman].'

So victim says little, but consults with chief, and after getting his consent, he sneaks around to evil shaman and kills him; he's even then. 'How do you feel?' he asks him, after he's shot him with bow and arrow; 'That's how I felt.'" NF: Shoot evil shaman, then "mash him up, like a sausage, and burn him." At burning, whirlwind goes up. Evil shaman's relatives "never say anything" when shaman killed.

5041. Often at curing performance evil shaman's pain is sent back to owner to kill him. At: Evil shaman's pain sent back to kill one of his children (see note 4980).

5042. MF, NF: Hold meeting to decide upon course of action.

[758] 5047. Kl, Mo: Midwinter shamanistic exhibitions are not here considered as competitions. WS: For competitions between weather shamans, see element 5119.

5068. Mo: If contest held in earnest. "Doctors try to poison each other with their medicine; a big Kl doctor's medicine, Chicken Hawk, hid once and caught a [rival] Mo doctor's medicine, Bald Eagle. But the Mo doctor's medicine caught Chicken Hawk; then the Kl doctor died."

Singing shamans.--

5060a. Mo: "Common" or "little" doctors recognized; "only way these doctor is by laying hands on patient--they don't suck, as a big doctor does." Possibly these might be classed as singing shamans (?). SW: Connected with recent Ghost dance only. WT: Referred to as "raw doctors." MM, MF, NF: Referred to as "dreamers." MM: "Dreamers" (nedin maidü) tell people what is going to happen, and what dead want them to do. "Lots of people don't believe them." Have no pains, cannot cure sick; "not very important." NM: See note 5079. NS: Shamans who use outfit bundle found at Auburn, among another Nisenan group, but not at Placerville. MV: Children always taught to tell what they dream, so if dream evil dreams, can be treated. But MV have no "dreamers" (oye) as MM, MF, NF have; "Dr. Charley at Cherokee (MF) was such. When he didn't feel good, he notified the people, and told them to make a fire in assembly house, because the spirits wanted to tell them something."

5070. AW: If bundle discarded, never obtains another one.

5079. NF: Dreamer dreams of spirits; sings in round house; "all the old people go in and listen when those devils [spirits] come and sing. They don't allow young people in there. Dreamer uses cocoon rattle [4 cocoons]; rattle goes up to smoke hole; dreamer sings and calls that devil, who comes in under the [foot] drum, takes the rattle and goes up center pole to top of house and sings; when devil is through singing he drops rattle down on ground and leaves." Clown (pepe) stays in round house during performance; "he doesn't act funny, but just calls those devils for dreamer." NM: Informant's father dreamer and

000 such shaman probably had power from clouds, or rain; could also cause rain.

5117. SW: "Down-river they [Karuk] pay a person for making rain; Shasta don't."

5119. WS: First doctor may make rain, second make it snow, in summertime.

[756 821 763] 5122. Kl, Mo: Also when shaman is cremated. Mo: Also, once in awhile, at spot where shaman has been cremated, person may see fire; whoever sees this will die.

Rattlesnake shamans; grizzly bear shamans; money finders.--

5123. SW: Recognized, but with qualifications (see note 4853). NF: "When snake sees a doctor (yomim maidü) it lies down and dies; it never chases him. Once in awhile snake bites common man."

5134. AE: "Have to have power from Buzzard to cure rattlesnake bites; Buzzard eats rattlesnake."

5135. SE: Ordinary person can protect self against snake bites by putting crushed haliotis inside moccasin. At: Ordinary persons wear turtle shell suspended from belt, to protect themselves against being bitten by snakes.

5146. SW: Woman goes about to houses in village, doctors small children's moccasins by singing these songs, so children will not be bitten by rattlesnakes. Denied for SE.

5149. WS: Large snake emerges first, when songs sung; "he's the boss snake"; after snakes are talked to, this large snake is first to return to hole. Shaman not paid to do this.

5151a. Among all groups, bear shamans always impersonate grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus), never black or brown bear (Ursus americanus).

5160. MM: If man bitten by grizzly, shaman summoned; latter takes patient short distance away from camp and builds small fire; then shaman sings and digs up acorns, roots, ant eggs and puts them in small piles--these disappear at once. Shaman then sucks out blood and bear teeth from patient.

5163. WT, NS: Belief strong that shaman really turns into bear, does not merely simulate bear.

5170. AW: Spirit from yellow jacket, fly, coyote. AE: Spirit from (Indian) dog.

## Witchcraft

Black magic.--

5183. NS: Love medicine lacking, but have belief that, if person carries seeds of a certain plant which grows in old graveyard, this person will have good luck. Must be careful when carrying these seeds not to go in front of people, children especially; seeds will make child, or even adult, faint.

5184. WS: For revenge, jilted suitor gets piece of girl's hair, talks to it and puts it in an evil sacred spot (saucl); "if he doesn't know how to do this right, girl will die in 2 days.

But if he knows how, she will waste away within 5-6 years. If he knows nothing of way to do it, he himself will die, too. This has to be done by suitor himself [can't hire anyone to do it for him], secretly."

5185. SW: "There was a song which anyone who knew, could use" [to make girl fall in love with person]. Flute not used. AE: Use the man's or girl's name in song, to charm desired person; then man or girl will come to singer. WT: When such song sung, it will make girl "marry her uncle, even." Also sing songs to be rid of member of opposite sex one does not love. Either man, woman uses love songs. MF: Sing with flute (ya·lulu).

5187. SE: Poisoner (k'ephoaki) "not real doctor, who dances, but anyone, man or woman, who knows how to witch with victim's hair or excrement." WS: No special term for poisoners. All these poisoners could do is to take their own poison off victim; could not cure persons otherwise. NF: Persons who "dope" victims (yompa) rub "some sort of dope on their hands," and lay their hands on victim's body; victim then dies.

5191. SE: Pound lizard scalp and frog together, mix them in person's food, to poison person.

[754] [756] 5192. Recite formula, generally, over hair, clothes, spittle, footprints, or excrement of intended victim. SE: Hair or excrement. WT, WM, WS: Hair only. At, MM, MF, NS: Poisoners who practice contagious magic are also sucking shamans. At, MM, MF, NF, NS: Poisoners who administer "dope" are not sucking shamans. NM: If want to spoil hunter's luck, burn deer bone taken from deer he has killed. NS: To make boy lucky in hunting, his grandfather, if a shaman, doctors boy's bow and arrow; moves it (no formula, song); or straightens and rubs boy's arms. Refer to this latter as na·k (same term as that used for straightening an arrow). For several other examples of contagious magic see note 5020.

[754] [756] 5193. If girl refuses to marry man, or father refuses to sell daughter in marriage to certain man, poisoner hired.

5194. SE: Poisoner picks up victim's hair or excrement with stick, talks to it, wishes victim bad luck. Girl victim 'goes crazy"; apt to go to edge of cliffs, singing, and to run around from one man to another. Girl has to be taken to curing shaman, who tells victim name of poisoner; victim then confronts poisoner, and makes latter take his or her poison off; this is done by poisoner blowing on victim, and singing. SW: Poisoner makes girl crazy, so she will never amount to anything. Sucking doctor can take medicine off the girl, and cure her. At: If girl made crazy thus, her father goes to shaman, perhaps same one who witched her, and asks him to cure girl. Shaman looks girl over, says he can do nothing for her; father then goes to another doctor, who pulls out "pain" evil shaman has put in girl, and talks to it; pain tattles on its possessor, evil shaman, and tells curing shaman all that has been said be-

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eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred places.

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets. If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon. Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat-houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample,

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shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demonstrate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families along the wall. A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bearing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers, hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional clothing. Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part of the seances.

Each shaman has an interpreter—w[illegible] habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the Modoc to the final evening. Each shaman must demonstrate his ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints, sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

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many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

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and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is preceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop.

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.[44]

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

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as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing they are the shaman's "helpers."

However differently they construe the degree of individual access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtuous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the universe appears basically to be a moral order.

In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a following. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man of property is likely to be decked with many valuables contributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowledge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee —to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

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At the center of concentric circles of concern stands the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation transcends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual responsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three generations. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally relationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral pyre.

Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity, and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and those outside are more frequently based upon performance. Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions. Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line. The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended, and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable intermarriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,

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1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes. The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty, brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of which based their power upon eminence in war and possession of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers, and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times to cement alliances with shamans.

Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would die."[11]

The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties. A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country. As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance rendered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment of worth.

In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill, a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David, later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks, of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

A minor factor in these developments may have been the interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in order that they might deal more effectively with responsible leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

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but they were made the arbiters for the acceptance by their fellows of changes in customary practice. Their position was buttressed by the procedure at first adopted of issuing annuities through them, of loaning equipment to the chiefs for the use of their followers, of building houses for them, and of giving them priority when breaking ground for planting.[22]

Even as an embodiment of indirect rule, however, the early reservation courts knew the intervention of the Agents. Meacham records that, "Captain Knapp forbade thier [sic] Doctors to practice and shackeled [sic] them for attempting to persist in the same."[23] And Meacham himself, having requested the commander of Fort Klamath to arrest and confine one Link River Doctor for the same offense, proceeded to try him during the next session of the court and sentenced him to four months' imprisonment at Fort Klamath.[24] Dyar similarly set sentence for Pitt River Dick, convicted of assaulting another Indian with a knife.[25]

The degree to which the Agency had set itself up to confirm the chiefs, and thus to constitute the supreme authority, is shown by the commission earlier awarded to Allen David, which runs,

> The Bearer
>
> for his intelligence, loyalty and long continued good behavior, is hereby appointed during good conduct Chief of the Chucklolum division of the Klamath Tribe. He will exercise authority over the said people subject to the will of the High Chief of the Klamath Nation and also of the proper authorities of the United States.
>
> Witness
> O. C. Applegate Intr.
> Saml. D. Whitmore
> Acting Farmer
>
> Signed at the Klamath
> Agency Sept 28th 1867
> L. Applegate
> U. S. Indn Sub Agent

Note especially that the division referred to does not correspond with any of the Klamath tribelets. Thus a regrouping was either being recognized or, more probably, instigated by the Agency.[26]

Despite their increasing control, Agents continued to chafe under the independence still exercised by the chiefs. As Commissary Meacham chose to phrase it, "In thier [sic] present condition it is probably best that each tribe should be represented by thier hereditary chiefs, but I am satisfied that the time is not

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# Religion

THE FINAL FIELD OF PLANNED CHANGE TO BE COSIDERED IS THAT OF religion. The traditional American separation of church and state did not obtain in the early history of the reservation, which, during the Grant administration, was entrusted to the Methodist Church. Several Agents, beginning with Dyar, and more than one employee, were ordained ministers. Although for some years the church did not send a missionary upon the reservation, religious services were held and the Word preached. The Annual Conference of the Methodist Church on several occasions served as a sounding board for intrigues on the part of white employees against the Agent.

Nor was religion divorced from political control on the native side. It will be recalled that shamans had been dominant figures before the rise of the centralizing chiefs, and that subsequently their power often buttressed that of individual chiefs. The continued presence of that influence now challenged the rule of the Agent. Lindsay Applegate later, in his roughhewn spelling, characterized the "Indian doctor" as "the dangers imposter who was the grate Bareer aganst their siviliseation . . ." adding "I made him giv Back the property that he had taken from his people By his false pretences [.] when he got two Bissy I put him in the guard hose[.]"[1] Captain Knapp brought similar pressure to bear in an effort to remove interference with proposed medical innovations. John Meacham, who succeeded him, commented upon the futility of his drastic measures:

> This was well and the Captain deserves credit for it, but it had about as much effect in eradicating these superstitious notions from the minds of the Indians as would the execution of the Pope of Rome and the proscription of every priest in Christendom in abolishing from the earth the papal theory of religion.

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To prevent a *practice* is one thing, to change the belief in the theory which actuated that practice is quite another thing. Thus while it is very true the *practice* of medicine by Indian doctors is abolished yet I am fully warranted in saying that there is not half a dozen Indians on the Reservation who are not as firm as ever in the belief of "spiritual medicine." Even Head Chief Allan David grave, sedate, and logical as he is in most things, acknowledged to me the other day that he *still believed* and was afraid to punish the Doctors.[4]

Notwithstanding his appreciation of the difficulty in eradicating belief in this way, Meacham continued to war against the shamans, causing Link River Doctor, whom Knapp had imprisoned, to be arrested and tried for having openly defied the order against shamanistic practice.[5] Meanwhile, he hailed the ministrations of the agency physician as demonstrating "that an efficient, patient and intelligent physician can do more than almost any other person in rooting out thier [sic] faith in thier own 'spiritual' medicine, and thus opening the way for the white man's customs, laws and religion."[6]

Not all shamans were initially singled out, for many were held in esteem. Of his paternal grand-aunt, a shaman, a present-day informant recalled, "She was like a preacher and all respected her. Chief Chiloquin always called her first when he had a meeting because she had a good brain. . . . Sally had a strong power [i.e. tutelary spirit]. . . ."[7] Tecumseh, an early Agency employee and Dave Hill's companion during the lyceum tour of 1875, was a noted shaman. It was the parvenu chiefs, replacing Lileks and Chiloquin, who abetted the Agents; and initially, as in the code set forth by Dave Hill, their censure was directed only against sorcery. Indeed, Hill's wife wrote him that she had taken their ailing child to a female shaman to be cured.[8] As Henry Blow remarked, "Since there is a white man's law among us the doctors are afraid to kill for malice or money as they did long ago, but exert the same power to heal the sick as they did."

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Significantly, when the court of chiefs tried Doctor John, a shaman, for having bewitched and thus slain another, the chief witness against him was Sally, the woman shaman mentioned above, who testifyed that in her dreams her shamanistic powers had seen those of the accused.[9]

In 1880, Nickerson took a further step toward reducing the number of shamans, but thereby gave those who remained a

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measure of official sanction. "I have recently induced their chiefs and people," he reported, "to dispense with one half or more of their native doctors, each chief and his people selecting one to retain. They came into this plan more readily than I had apprehended."[8] On a visit to the Agency, Lindsay Applegate came upon the new system and, in a letter bristling with indignation, wrote "[Nickerson] turned to me and remarked that they ware his indian docters that he had invited the indians to furnish to practice with his docter at the same time [.]"[9]

Meanwhile, the growing success of the medical program upon the reservation sapped the authority of the shamans in what was their last legitimate field. The personality of Dr. Royal, who had doubled as chief of police, apparently did much to win over some of the chiefs, as did his treatment of syphilitic cases among the Indians. (Since, as Roork had remarked, the disease had been contracted by Indians in the course of their annual trading trips to Oregon City and other points,[10] it may have had a higher incidence in chiefly families.) They desired to retain him and, wrote Nickerson in advocating this, "Should he remain permanently the chiefs have agreed to do all they can to do away with their Indian doctors. These Indian doctors have heretofore had almost unbounded sway over the people."[11]

In outlawing shamanistic activities, the Agency in effect drove a wedge between the shaman and his ritual assistants: the interpreter, caller, and singers. Since a curing seance was a public demonstration, it involved too many participants to be concealed easily; and the shamans, formerly among the most respected and feared members of the tribe, were not given to skulking. Moreover, in native theory, supernatural power waxes with use; and when performances were no longer given frequently, that power declined.

Recalled H. N.:

> I always seen David Hill go among the people and interpret the agent's words. Sally [the shaman] said, "I didn't do it myself, but my medicine do it. It's up to my medicine. If I do it, it's the medicine's fault." But David Hill said, "It's better for you to quit than to have trouble for yourself, or your family. That's what the agent wants."
>
> . . .
>
> Nobody ever called her after the orders were given. They might help minor things. I watched Sally. I watched her doctor.

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She worked all night once, and I thought there must be something to it. But her power got small. You know what the Christians say, "Backslide," not working strong enough. She said, "My help is getting small."[13]

Alec Wilson was a shaman, one of perhaps three in the lower Williamson River area. After the Agency had outlawed shamanistic curing, he gave up his practice. Later, his child fell ill. His wife railed at him, "You call yourself an Indian doctor! Why don't you do something? Can't you see your own child is dying?" Helplessly, he explained, "My tricks [i.e. powers] are all gone, have left me; I can't do nothing without my tricks."

Though prohibited, shamanistic activities continued into recent times. In 1897, Emery dealt severely with two instances of curing at Paiute Camp, awarding a month at hard labor each to Doctor Sam and Tom Godowa for attempting a shamanistic cure of the latter's daughter and a week in jail to Tom Chocktoot, headman of the Paiute, for a similar effort on behalf of Pete Pauline's daughter. Chocktoot had also to return the sack of flour and blanket he had received as his fee.[13] A number of adults who were products of the boarding school recall the transvestite shaman, White Cindy. One man was cured by him in the early 1890's;[14] and a woman who fell ill through dreaming of him underwent the required shamanistic cure, although she was a Methodist. Henry Jackson is said to have retained shamans to perform cures at his house, and he is widely suspected to have hired the assassin of the Modoc shaman, Doctor George, in 1899, on the suspicion that he had encompassed the death of his sons.[15]

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While the campaign against the shamans was proceeding, other events had taken place. In 1871, a Paiute had introduced upon the Upper End (Yainax) the nativistic Ghost Dance religion; and Doctor George, at that time not yet a shaman, had brought it to the Tule Lake Modoc. There it was taken up by the Modoc shaman, Curley-haired Doctor, and played an ideological role during the Modoc War. A Klamath commoner named O'Toole brought the religion to the Lower End, at the Lakes, where a dance was organized by Allen David (then head chief), Lobert, a headman and shaman, O'Toole, and Frank Chilks, another commoner. No Agency employees among the Indians participated.

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After the end of the Modoc War, a second movement, the Earthlodge Cult, was brought to the reservation by two Pit River Indians, Henry Jackson and Pit River Charley, who had learned about it while visiting relatives in northern California. Shortly after this cult was introduced, a delegation of Klamath and Modoc from both Ends of the reservation visited Falls City, California, and Fort Crook to witness dances and seek the "message." Gradually, the Earthlodge Cult passed into a second phase, known as the Dream Dance. At the Upper End, the leaders were again Doctor George and Monchnkasgitk, while at the Lower they included Allen David, Jason Howard, a commoner, Chanchan, a shaman from Pelican Bay, O'Toole, and Lobert. The Paiute abstained from both the earlier and the later phases of this cult. The movement effectively stopped about 1878 with the building of the Methodist Church.

Nash, whose account has been followed here, has set forth the ritual and the theological content of each movement and has convincingly analyzed the social tensions and individual drives, so far as they can be recovered, that gave significance to the movements. The Ghost Dance was given antiwhite content by the Tule Lake Modoc, but not by the other groups. The Earthlodge Cult, on the other hand, was strongly antiwhite at the Upper End, but not at the Agency. Around this time the Indians were becoming alarmed by reports that they were going to be exterminated by the troops and agitated by the boundary line and military road disputes, which especially affected the Upper End. Such fears may have contributed to the growth and local character of the Earthlodge Cult.

Viewed together, these movements constituted a progressive accommodation to the Klamath scene. As Nash characterizes it:

> The Ghost Dance represented a sharp break with Modoc and Klamath ritual tradition. The Earthlodge Cult was more in accord with this tradition, and the Dream Dance was still more consonant with it, and in the course of its development became incorporated into it. At the same time the aboriginal distinction between the ritual experience of shamans and the ritual experience of nonshamans was broken down. Participants in the Dream Dance, particularly the strong dreamers, began acting like shamans; and shamans who participated in the Dream Dance acted more like ordinary men. . . . As the Dream Dance grew older, the traditional gap between shamans and non-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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shamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming, and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices into their rituals.[16]

While these nativistic movements were going on, the first steps were being taken to provide Christian training to replace the native faith which was being discredited. In 1872, Thomas Pearne, an educated Indian from the Yakima reservation, had been appointed interpreter. During that year, until his resignation to return to Washington Territory in the following spring, he carried on missionary work among the Klamath, bringing thirty-six into the church. Among them was Lileks, who at his death three years later was numbered among the "Praying Indians."[17]

The following year, the Reverend James Harer was appointed Commissary at Yainax, where for a brief period he preached at religious meetings which were well attended.[18] By 1876, the Agent at the Lower End and the farmer at Yainax still were holding forth. Employees had volunteered to advance half the salary for a missionary if the Methodist Missionary Society would match the amount; but nothing came of it.[19] Roork, the following year, took a number of the principal men and women, along with some scholars from the Indian School, to the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem, probably in another appeal for a missionary.[20]

The flavor of those early meetings is preserved in one of the letters to Dave Hill, dictated in 1875 by Allen David.

> After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook [make, hold] church, we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanish [take good care of] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds., some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts and then tried to get the other Inds. to get the same hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr. Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs

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Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."[2]

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The emergence of native preachers provides another illustration of the confrontation of native and American roles. From the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the shaman's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

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On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon, the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

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In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and "The One Above," became identified by some with God, although his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

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OLD CHILOQUIN SAYS

I am very much pleased that our young men are doing so well. I mean to try and stop all bad actions, fighting, gambling &c &c. I see Daves friends every day and give them good advice. I tell them to remember what Dave told them. I tell them not to get a cry tum-tum* about Dave nor a foolish angry tum-tum† for this will only make Dave feel bad when he comes home. Perhaps by and by I may have a different story to tell you. Perhaps there may be quarrelling & fighting among our people, but I hope not. Captain has said that he wants a great many things. I don't want to talk that way I am well pleased to see our young men trying to get right. 539

Yours Truly
Chiloquin

* Sad heart
† Heart

ALLEN DAVID SAYS

I want to let you know about Choler.* He paid one small horse & one large one equal to three in all as a fine for getting foolish and stealing a young girl, Dr. Chinchalo's daughter. The girl said that she wanted to get Choler for life, and we fined her also. [684]

Allen David

* Appears on the rolls as Chula

FRANK SAYS

You Dave told me when he left that he wanted me to close nanitch* all the people. I called the young men together and told them that I wanted them to come all right. Allie also helped me and now all of us young men are agreed on this point. We don't want to throw away what you told us but to get and keep your tum-tum.† We don't want to break the laws or to get bad. We want to work and make rails, houses, farms, &c &c. If any of us want to get bad again I will let you know.

Frank [Chilks?]

* Take good care of
† Literally "heart"; here the meaning is "view."

DAVE'S WIFE SAYS

Our babe was sick a little while ago and an Indian Doctress cured it and I paid one blanket. Now all the children are well. Everything is right now except that Elmer crys a good deal in the night because he wants to see Dave. If you get money I want you to send me some. [756]

Your wife

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later
778 the parents point out the sacred sites as they pass by them. Many of the places are referred to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never to run or play near them lest they should fall and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated
• 756 with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans. Shamans are the most important, powerful, and feared individuals in the tribe. Small children are warned never to bother one, but to run and hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor; don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you. Don't ever look at him when he is smoking." Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number of ways. They frequently scold erring children, small ones being perhaps most often threatened with some supernatural punishment for misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are probably never severe. A child is switched across his hands or the back of his legs with a willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to unless the child has made the same mistake several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in
776 the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other
775 supernatural beings who kidnap bad children. Owl is the most potent supernatural threat, feared by child and adult alike. When a child cries at night or is naughty, his parents
[539] threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails to heed the warning at first, the parents call, "Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness of the threat is increased by the child's knowledge of the story about a baby who was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the camp constantly and are especially dangerous to little ones. For that reason children are never allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by an adult. The child is told to turn his left side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, chil-
775 dren must never go near the cremation grounds where they might contract a ghost sickness, which can be cured only by a powerful shaman. Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed to cross the path over which a corpse has been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

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plunges into the lake or a pool in the river or whatever water there may be at hand. This practice seems to have been medicinal. It was used as a habitual means of warding off disease as well as of curing it.

The second form of sweathouse was of similar size and construction except that it had a saddle roof which was covered with several inches of earth instead of a dome-shaped roof covered with matting. The door of this structure was placed at one end and was usually quite small. It was closed by a blanket or tule mat during the sweating.

There was no large "sweathouse" used for ceremonial purposes as in the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada region to the south. All ceremonies were held out of doors, chiefly in the summer.

### IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.[1]

MK 411

The influence of the unusual environment in which the Klamath and Modoc live is also very noticeable in the implements made and used by them, particularly in the various devices for the capture of fish and water birds.

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The chief implements of war were the bow and arrow and a rather short javelin. The war bow was of the general type of the northwestern part of California, having a sinew back and sharply upcurved ends. The arrow was made in the ordinary manner, with light wood or cane shaft, hard wood foreshaft, and a moderately large obsidian, or sometimes flint, point.

[178] [756] [525]

The javelin or spear was fairly short. Its shaft was made of heavy wood. Its point, usually of obsidian, varied from two to six inches in length. These javelins, like war bows and arrows, are no longer in existence, though the obsidian heads are quite plentiful about old village and camp sites. They are now used by medicine-men in doctoring, and also by gamblers, who place them under the large mats used for gambling to insure good luck, especially in the game called sakalis.

### HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.

MK 224

The implements used in hunting animals were usually the bow and arrow. Ensnaring animals was little practiced by the

[1] The Klamath names of the various implements, etc., here described are given by Gatschet in his dictionary, *op. cit.*

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159 Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White seg-
[156] ments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
[608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is asso-
ciated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, be-
cause she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and
biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a
person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Per-
haps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social
role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she
will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and
quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

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776 From a Klamath myth we gather the information that there is a guardian over the spirits wafting through the sky, called Wásh k'músh, or the *gray fox*. This name is evidently borrowed from the coloring of the sky, as it appears before or during a polar light, and must be compared with another beast name, the wán or wanáka, the *red fox*, which is the symbol of the sun-halo.

• 756 776 Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the kíuks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the home of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man towards the spot where the animal-spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means "the frightener," and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit.

776 *Giants.*—The imagination of every primitive people has been busy in producing monsters of all qualities and shapes, human and animal, even walking mountains and trees. What we call giants are generally personifications of irresistible powers of nature, which are supposed to perform feats impossible for man's utmost strength; by dwarfs are symbolized powers of nature which achieve great and wonderful things by steady and gradual work unnoticed by the generality of human beings.

[773 823] Giants are often the originators of geological revolutions of the earth's crust. Thus the giant Léwa represents the circular, lofty island lying within the waters of Crater Lake or Gíwash. He went by an underground passage (fissure?) from his seat over to Yámsi Mountain to wrestle with Skē'l, the all-powerful pine-marten, whose home is at Yámsi. After conquering him, he carried him through the same passage again to Crater Lake for the purpose of feeding him to his children, and his daughter, Léwam pé-ip, struck him with a heavy flint-stone.

776 823 Like the walls of that lake and the whole Cascade range, the island in

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776 823 question is of volcanic origin. The natives avoid going near the lake or even ascending the surrounding heights.* Earthquakes are often ascribed by foreign nations to giants stretched out below, who are shifting their underground position. Giants often appear also as ravishers, ogres, and man-eaters, like the Scandinavian Yättur, and two giant-women of the Elip tilikum or "Primeval People," were changed into two columns of sandstone, near the Yákima country, on Middle Columbia River, for having preyed upon the human race.†

776 [754] [192] *Dwarfs.*—A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose foot-prints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from nainâya *to shiver, tremble*

[823] [825] Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird.

The Klamaths appear to know about certain spirits having bodies of a diminutive size, but the characteristics of such are not distinct enough to permit identification with the *fairies*, Erdmännchen or Kabeiroi of European mythologies.

### ANIMAL DEITIES.

776 825 The deification of animals in the primitive forms of religion is highly instructive, and instances are so numerous that it would take a series of volumes to comprehend its details. Animal stories and shamanism are

* Among the summits of the San Juan Mountains, New Mexico, there is to-day a lake bounded by precipitous walls, and there is a little island in the center of the lake with a hole in it, and something sticks out of the hole that looks like the top of a ladder, and "this is the place through which our ancestors emerged from the fourth into the fifth or present world." The Návajos never approach near to it, but they stand on high summits around, and view from afar their natal waters. (From Návajo Creation Myth, Am. Antiquarian, V, 1883, p. 213.)

† G. Gibbs in Pacific Railroad Reports, I, 411.

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64, 1. Tetĕmádshish or Aunt Susie is one of the numerous female "doctors", who eke out a scanty living from some patients of the Klamath Lake tribe. She received the above name for having been a washerwoman to the soldiers stationed at Fort Klamath, and the nickname Wúya-ak was bestowed on her on account of her predilection for small sucker fish.

64, 2. sämtsálya. The means employed by her to discover that Dr. John had cast upon the patient a spell of a deadly character, were the singing or recital of tamánnash songs, and the *dreams* which she had on that subject. Her tamánnash songs had *seen* those of the accused conjurer. See 65, 9. The great majority of the tribe still believes in the possibility of witchcraft.

64, 7. The two sentences contained in this line anticipate the result of the whole trial, and the popular verdict. The proper place for them would be after 65, 15.

64, 9. Tuá ni etc. The defense made by Dr. John in his own case is not an unable one, nor is it devoid of oratorical powers. But if the arguments were delivered in the order as given by Dave Hill, they ought to have followed each other in a more logical order to attain their full effect.

64, 10. wák lish etc. The logical connection existing between this sentence and the foregoing has to be supplied by: "why should he have been my personal enemy?"

64, 10, 11, 15 etc. i, ik stands here for át (*ye*); because, when the headchief is addressed in council, all the others are addressed also. Lóli stands for lóla i. The trial took place on Williamson River.

64, 13. kúkamtchish. The distributive form is used here instead of the absolute verbal k'mû'tchish, because old age comes on *gradually, by degrees.*

64, 16. tchí ínsh instead of tchí nish; the language likes juxtaposition of two short equal vowels, even when a metathesis is required.

65, 8. Kátak etc. Aunt Susie's opinion, given just after Púkish's death and some time *before* the trial, did not fail to have a striking effect on the superstitious judges and tribe, for her arguments perfectly agree with the national ideas. But to us the arguments seem so weak, that no conviction seems justified, if not based on other evidence.

65, 9. nä'nsak etc. "Your defense does not disprove any of the points advanced against you."

65, 11. K'mukámtsam nä'-nlaks: "the old customs of the people."

65, 16. The second account of this tamánnash-case was obtained a few weeks after the trial; Dr. John was present at the agency buildings at the time of the dictation, furnishing the facts to my informant.

66, 4. ká-ishnank etc. This underground jail was in such an unhealthy condition that Dr. John could not have lived in it through the tenth part of his long term of imprisonment.

66, 5. Tchikéskni and Skélag, names of two watchmen (i-álhish); the chiefs appoint watchmen from time to time. Skélag is "the young weasel" and Tchikéskni "man living at Tchikési camping-place". They were armed with pistols to foil any attempt at escape.

66, 10. nä'dshek for nä'dsh ak: "the only one". Compare nádshiak, 60, 21; waítak, 56, 7. and *Notes.*

66, 12. shishi'tilatk. The past participle often stands for forms of periphrastic conjugation: shishítilatko gi, they *were* carrying in their dress. Cf. illólatko, 55, 20.

*539 755 Wudoká hushtsóχa sha kíuksas sálχitnuk kléksht húnk snawédshash.
Struck (and) killed they the conjurer for being bewitched (and) having died this woman.

627 Tsúi sa lúluksla snawédsh kíuksam síuks; hû'nk sa kíuksas i'mpěle
And cremated the woman by the conjurer killed; him they the conjurer brought back

tchī'shtal, tsúi sa lúluksla mâklaks. 3
to (his) lodge, and cremated (him) the people.

## NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánnash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

192 177 68, 1. mā'ntch-gi'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

192 193 68, 1. 10. salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánnash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

754 753 68, 5. shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

192 68, 6. hántsantkiug and 68, 8: shúkpaltakiug stand for hántchantki gíug and shukpalítki gíug; cf. shû'kpěli.

192 193 68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápěle "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k'lä'kah, contracted from k'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

192 68, 8. tché-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

756 69, 1. hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

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## II.

*539 775 787 825

Kiä'm k̲'leká tchû'shni; tsúyunk hû'ksa tsóχatk pi'l kiä'm, nánuktua
Fish remain dead forever; therefore those dead (people) (exist) only as fish, as all kinds of
kiä'm, nánuktua mák̲laksni tsók̲atk. Hä' n' hû'nk hû'nkiash shläát skû'k-
fish, all kinds of Indians dead. If I (of a deceased) should behold the
3 shash, k̲'läkát nî hû'nk släók; hä'toks nî shuíshaltk, tchēk gíug k̲á-i
spirit, would die I it through seeing; but if I recur to magic songs, then not
siúgat nîs.
he may kill me.

### NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even *539 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, 775 the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of 787 living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore 192 cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. pîl mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushtî'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushtî'χa ak nîsh, hûk tchē'k nîsh síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshlá, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks nî' shläát etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leká etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence